

R. FRITH

Government
Publications

FINAL REPORT

(Volume 1)

Authors: J.D. Hoffman and N. Ward

Title: Bilingualism and Biculturalism
in the House of Commons.

Div: III

Report No: 2

CA1Z1

-63 B500

RELATIONS AND REORGANIZATION OF THE
STATE OF TEXAS

VOLUME I

A. J. RAYMOND and NORMAN L. HART

March, 1911.



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A Study Prepared for the

Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism

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March, 1966.

ETHNOLOGICAL AND ETHNOGRAPHICAL IN THE

HOUSE OF COMMONS



A Study Prepared for the

Royal Commission on Ethnology and Ethnography

J. D. Hoffman and Norman Ward

March, 1966

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FOREWORD

Since a complete description of this study as planned and executed is contained below in Appendix A and Part Two, Chapter Three, it is not necessary to describe the project in detail here. Part One traces the bilingual history of the Canadian House of Commons and sets the House of Commons in the twenty-sixth Parliament in its historical context as a representative body. Part Two consists of the survey made by questionnaire of members of Parliament in that House of Commons in 1964 and 1965. In view of the pioneering nature of the survey, Part Two begins with a detailed account of the methods used and the chief problems encountered. The remainder of Part Two gives the results of the survey.

The divisions of labour between the co-authors should be indicated in order that proper credit may be given to Professor J.D. Hoffman for his share. Professor Hoffman did the major share of the work in preparing the drafts of the questionnaire used in Part Two, in interviewing the members of Parliament, in analyzing and coding the results, and writing the first draft of Part Two. Professor Ward assisted with the questionnaire and did some interviewing of members, wrote the rest of the report apart from Part Two, and edited the whole. A number of members of the research staff of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism made material contributions to the report, as acknowledged particularly in Part One, Chapter One, and Part Two, Chapter Three. We should like especially to acknowledge the helpful assistance of Miss Judy Dibben and Dr. Jean Fortier. Several members of the faculties of York University and the University of Saskatchewan read parts of the report and offered helpful

suggestions. To all these people the co-authors are very grateful. The responsibility for the report of course rests with the co-authors.

Because of the pressure of time, it was necessary to have the report typed in its entirety on multilith forms in Saskatoon, where we were fortunate to obtain the able services of a secretary who is not bilingual in English and French (though she is in English and Ukrainian), and whose typewriter did not include French accents. Every effort has been made to check the French quotations in the text, but we are aware that we may have inadvertently let some errors slip through.

J.D. Hoffman

Norman Ward

PART I

CHAPTER ONE
THE HISTORICAL BASIS OF BILINGUALISM
IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS

Bilingualism in the House of Commons has two main aspects, each of which has its distinctive history. On the one hand there is the legal and constitutional framework, within which the two languages are given a status apart from all other languages. On the other hand is the vast body of customs and practices that have grown up around the constitutional framework, determining the day-to-day use of the two languages on the floor of the House, in committees, and in all the other relationships that must develop if a legislative assembly is to be viable. The Canadian House of Commons is by no means unique in having more than one official language;¹ English has served with Hindi, for example, as one of two official languages in India, and French has served with German and Italian in Switzerland. What is unique about the Canadian situation is that the languages are French and English, found together in a North American environment, in a historical and sociological context which has no parallel elsewhere.

¹ See, for example, George A. Coddington Jr., The Federal Government of Switzerland, (Boston, 1961); Christopher Hughes, The Parliament of Switzerland, (London, 1962); George McT. Kahin (ed.), Major Governments of Asia, (Ithaca, 1963). A recent survey of representative institutions in forty-one countries found language to be of such minor significance as a parliamentary problem as to be not worth mentioning. See Parliaments (London, 1962), published for the Inter-Parliamentary Union by Cassell and Company Ltd.

1. The Legal and Constitutional Framework

Statutory provisions governing the use of language did not appear until relatively late in Canadian history. Nonetheless, problems involving the use of language in the governmental process, when an English-speaking administration was attempting to manage the affairs of a predominantly French-speaking community, inevitably arose early, and caused concern on both sides. The Attorney General and Solicitor General in 1766, reporting perceptively on civil government in Quebec, cited as one of their problems:

"The attempt to carry on the Administration of Justice without the aid of the natives, not merely in new forms, but totally in an unknown tongue, by which means the partys Understood Nothing of what was pleaded or determined having neither Canadian Advocates or Sollicitors to Conduct their Causes, nor Canadian jurors to give Verdicts, even in Causes between Canadians only, Nor Judges Conversant in the French Language to declare the Law, and to pronounce Judgment: This must cause thê Real Mischiefs of Ignorance, oppression and Corruption, or else what is almost equal in Government to the mischiefs themselves, the suspicion and Imputation of them."²

But neither the Québec Act of 1774, nor the Constitutional Act of 1791,³ say anything about either English or French.

Despite this, the necessity of using both languages in a legislature composed of members from both English and French-speaking backgrounds quickly became apparent, and the legal foundations for parliamentary bilingualism were soon laid, though not without friction. The Constitutional Act of 1791

² Report of Attorney and Solicitor General Regarding the Civil Government of Quebec, 1766, quoted in W.P.M. Kennedy, Statutes, Treaties and Documents of the Canadian Constitution, 1713-1929, (Oxford, 1930), p. 65.

³ 14 George III, Chapter 83, and 31 George III, Chapter 31.

assumed the creation of Upper and Lower Canada, and the two entities were established; and it provided for a legislature in each. In Lower Canada the legislative assembly in 1793 first rejected a motion to make English alone the legal language, and then resolved:

"That Bills relative to the criminal laws of England in force in this province, and to the rights of the Protestant clergy, as specified in the Act of the 31st year of his Majesty, chap. 31, shall be introduced in the English language; and the Bills relative to the Laws, Customs, usages and civil rights of this Province, shall be introduced in the French language, in order to preserve the unity of the texts.

"That such Bills as are presented shall be put into both languages, that those in English be put into French, and those presented in French be put into English by the clerk of the House or his Assistants, according to the directions they may receive, before they be read the first time--and when so put shall also be read each time in both languages--well understood that each Member has a right to bring in any Bill in his own language, but that after the same shall be translated, the text shall be considered to be that of the language of the law to which said Bill hath reference."⁴

It is perhaps not surprising that such resolutions should be passed in Lower Canada, and it is to be noted that texts of bills in both languages were to be considered official in the legislature's view; the British government, while accepting both languages, subsequently "insisted on English as the language of law."⁵ What is striking is a decree of the government of Upper Canada, also issued shortly after the Constitutional Act of 1791:

"Such Acts as have already passed or may hereafter pass the Legislature of this Province shall be translated into the French

⁴Rules and Regulations of the House of Assembly, Lower Canada, 1793, quoted in Arthur G. Doughty and Duncan A. McArthur, Documents Relating to the Constitutional History of Canada, 1791-1818 (Ottawa, 1914), p. 105.

⁵W.P.M. Kennedy, The Constitution of Canada, 1534-1937, (Oxford, 1938), p. 90.

language for the benefit of the inhabitants of the western district of this province and other French settlers who may come to reside within this province."⁶

None of these resolutions had statutory form; but in accordance with ancient parliamentary privilege, and the powers of the colonial governments to issue decrees concerning their domestic affairs, they had the force of law; they appear to have remained unaltered until the Act of Union of 1840. The proposed act of union of 1822, which was dropped in the face of opposition from both Upper and Lower Canada, included a clause on language which anticipated a unilingual assembly to govern both parts of the re-united Canadas:

"And be it further Enacted, That from and after the passing of this Act, all written proceedings of what nature soever of the said Legislative Council and Assembly, or either of them, shall be in the English language and none other; and that at the end of the space of fifteen years from and after the passing of this Act, all debates in the said Legislative Council or in the said Assembly shall be carried on in the English language and none other."⁷

This clause, which was of course not proceeded with, represents the only serious attempt to impose English as a language of debate on the French Canadians.

The Act of Union of 1840, in keeping with Lord Durham's expectation that Canadians of French origin could be assimilated into a larger English-speaking community, enacted as follows:

⁶ Journals of the Legislative Assembly of Upper Canada, 1792-1804, (Sixth Report of the Bureau of Archives for the Province of Ontario, Toronto, 1911), p. 23.

⁷ Kennedy, Statutes, Treaties and Documents of the Canadian Constitution, 1713-1929, p. 247.

"And be it enacted that from and after the said reunion of the said two Provinces, all writs, proclamations, instruments for summoning and calling together the Legislative Council and Legislative Assembly of the Province of Canada and for proroguing and dissolving the same, and all writs of summons and election, and all writs and public instruments whatsoever relating to the said Legislative Council and Legislative Assembly or either of them, and all returns to such writs and instruments, and all journals, entries and written or printed proceedings of what nature soever of the said Legislative Council and Legislative Assembly and each of them respectively, and all written or printed proceedings and reports of committees of the said Legislative Council and Legislative Assembly respectively, shall be in the English language only: Provided always, that this enactment shall not be construed to prevent translated copies of any such documents being made, but no such copy shall be kept among the records of the Legislative Council or Legislative Assembly, or be deemed in any case to have the force of an original record."⁸

This clause, comprehensive though it was, was not intended to prohibit the use of the French language in debate; nor did it, and French was used from the first union Parliament, the rules of procedure in the assembly specifically providing for the translation of papers into French, and the reading of motions in both languages.⁹

Even so, the use of English alone as the language of original record proved to be not merely a source of great aggravation to the French-speaking, but actually unworkable in an elected body whose members spoke in two tongues. The clause making English only the official language of record was repealed in toto in 1848, by an amending statute which itself said that the repeal was enacted "in order that the Legislature of the Province of Canada, or the said Legislative Council and Legislative Assembly respectively, may have

⁸
3 + 4 Victoria, chapter 35, s. XL1.

⁹
Standing Rules and Regulations of the Legislative Assembly of Canada,
(Kingston, 1841).

power to make such regulations herein as to them may seem advisable."¹⁰

Thus from 1848 French and English enjoyed equal official status in the Province of Canada.

The act of 1848 really settled the question of parliamentary bilingualism in Canada, and the Confederation negotiations simply assumed that both languages would be necessary in any national legislative body established under a new constitution. Number forty-six of the Quebec Resolutions read:

"Both the English and French languages may be employed in the General Parliament and in its proceedings, and in the Local Legislature of Lower Canada, and also in the Federal Courts and in the Courts of Lower Canada."

Debate on the resolutions in the Canadian legislature resulted in no change in the clause, and revealed no disagreement about the equal status that should be given to English and French; on the contrary, the most explicit assurances were given to a few French Canadians who were concerned about the permissive "may" in the resolution.¹¹ The man who gave the assurances, John A. Macdonald, was the only English Canadian who spoke on resolution forty-six. Not a single voice was raised in opposition to the intent of the resolution.

The statutory terms of the enactment which resulted from the Quebec Resolutions were actually more explicit than the resolutions in regard to language:

¹⁰ 11 + 12 Victoria, chapter 56, s. 1.

¹¹ Parliamentary Debates on the Subject of the Confederation of the British North American Provinces, (Quebec, 1865), p. 944.

"Either the English or the French Language may be used by any Person in the Debates of the Houses of the Parliament of Canada and of the Houses of the Legislature of Quebec; and both those Languages shall be used in the respective Records and Journals of those Houses; and either of those Languages may be used by any Person or in any Pleading or Process in or issuing from any Court of Canada established under this Act, and in or from all or any of the Courts of Quebec. The Acts of the Parliament of Canada and of the Legislature of Quebec shall be printed and published in both those Languages."¹²

This section of the British North America Act, it is to be noted, draws no distinctions whatever between English and French, and puts no limits on the use of either. The section has not been altered since 1867, and when in 1949 the Parliament of Canada assumed the right to amend parts of the Act, the use of the English or French language was expressly omitted from the amending power.¹³ The statutory terms of the constitutional act have been supplemented by several House rules, all of which preserve the equality of the languages.

II. The Use of the Language Provisions

Except on the condition that all members were fluently bilingual, the use of two languages in a legislature inevitably involves translation, and on two distinct levels: the translation of the spoken word, as uttered on the floor of the House of Commons and in its committees, and the translation of the written word, as needed in parliamentary proceedings, annual reports for the information of members and the public, and in motions, bills and statutes. The two are of course inextricably mingled (before

¹²British North American Act, 1867, (30 + 31 Victoria, chapter 3), s. 133.

¹³British North American (No. 2) Act, 1949, (13 George VI, chapter 81, U.K.).

modern technology made simultaneous translation possible, for example, rendering the spoken word into the other language always required a written transcript which could be translated), but they have nonetheless some separate problems.

The history of the spoken languages in the House of Commons since 1867 has followed a relatively simple pattern. The first House of Commons was in many important respects the legislature of the old Province of Canada writ large, with new members added for Ontario, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia. The sixty-five members from Quebec, almost all of whom spoke French, were more than balanced by one hundred and sixteen members from elsewhere, almost all of whom were English-speaking; and the imbalance grew as new English-speaking provinces were added. English, as a matter of course, became the day-to-day working language of Parliament, and French the language of translation.

Apart from sheer numbers, there was another reason for this development. From the beginning, it was common for French-speaking members to be bilingual, and much less common for the English-speaking. The result was a paradox which lasted until the installation of simultaneous translation in 1959, during the twenty-fourth Parliament: "The doughtiest champion of the French language, if he wishes to make any immediate impression on his listeners, must make his plea in English. Even some of his contemporaries may turn a deaf ear to any remarks he makes in French, suspecting that since he is not trying to reach the English-speaking members he may be speaking

for some local purpose that is no concern of theirs."¹⁴ The simultaneous translation system, by which a member speaking in either language can be almost instantly understood in the other, has changed this, and more French is spoken in the contemporary House of Commons than in any previous period.

The trend to a more widespread use of French, however, antedates the recently established translation service for the spoken word, and is of particular interest because the use of French in modern times has involved an appreciable number of English Canadians, whereas in the early decades French was spoken almost exclusively by French Canadians. A statistical sampling of the use of French in the House of Commons for selected years shows the following:¹⁵

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Norman Ward, "Parliamentary Bilingualism in Canada", Parliamentary Affairs, Vol. X, No. 2, Spring, 1957, p. 157. For typical comments by French-speaking M.P.'s on this phenomenon see Canada, Official Report of Debates, House of Commons (French edition), 1920, p. 717; 1921, p. 552; for comments of English-speaking members see ibid., (English edition), 1927, p. 819; 1930, p. 2074; 1955, p. 869.

15

Elizabeth Bird, The Use of French in the House of Commons, unpublished research paper prepared in the offices of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism,

Table 1.1

Use of French in the House of Commons for
Selected Years, 1880-1963

Year	General Debates % of Debate in French	Debates on Speech from Throne % of Debate in French
1880	.09	--
1890	1.8	--
1900	2.0	3.7
1910	4.4	6.5
1920	2.6	9.1
1930	1.8	5.1
1940	1.7	6.2
1950	2.1	6.8
1955	3.6	8.8
1957	4.1	9.9
1958	8.6	25.0
1959	10.6	23.0
1960	13.0	26.4
1962	13.2	25.6
1962-3	17.9	20.4
1963	20.5	22.6

Unqualified statistics can be misleading, but there can be no doubting the altered status of spoken French in the House of Commons in the past decade, not all of which is attributable to the simultaneous translation introduced in 1959. That system nonetheless, combined with a growing disposition on the part of French-speaking members to use it, has confirmed the substantial use now of both languages in the House of Commons. The only serious complaint to be heard about simultaneous translation is that it works too well, and reduces the need for members from either English or French-speaking backgrounds to learn the other language.

The history of the translation of written languages in the House (which, it must be remembered, was also involved in the translation of

spoken languages before 1959) is a more complex and troubled one. If a bilingual Parliament is to operate efficiently, not just as a bilingual Parliament but as a Parliament at all, an elaborate programme of translation is necessary: of executive instruments which must be understood by M.P.'s; of committee reports on every aspect of legislation and parliamentary inquiry; of all motions and bills presented; and of course of debates. The development of this programme was complicated by two extraneous factors. English was so overwhelmingly the working language of the House of Commons until modern times that the initiative for securing adequate translations not only from English into French, but also from French into English, was for decades left to French-speaking members, who were always a minority of the House.¹⁶ Even in 1920 and 1921, when what was sought was a more rapid translation into English of speeches made in the House in French, it was a group of French-speaking members who, moved by the not unreasonable proposition that "every member sitting in this House has the right, when rising to speak, to be understood," made the necessary motions.¹⁷ And until 1934, when the government introduced a bill to establish the Bureau for Translations, translation matters were held generally to concern the internal privileges of the House rather than governmental policy. Thus in 1907 Sir Wilfrid Laurier, during a lively debate on the status of the French language in and out of Parliament, said:

"Now with regard to the printing of the Votes and Proceedings and the debates of the House, that is a matter with which the government

¹⁶ See Ward, "Parliamentary Bilingualism in Canada," p. 159.

¹⁷ Canada, Official Report of Debates, House of Commons, 1920, pp. 697ff; 1921, pp. 698ff.

has nothing to do. I know that there has been constant complaint about the debates, every session, but that is a matter for the Debates Committee to look after, and I believe that committee is endeavouring to meet the wishes and the convenience of members in that respect. If they do not do so, they ought to be taken to task and brought to a proper sense of their duty."¹⁸

In 1934, one of the House of Commons' veteran bilingual members, Henri Bourassa, hailed the government's bill to establish the Bureau for Translation in revealing words:

"What I find in this case--that is why I approve of this bill--is that, for the first time, in legislation introduced by the government, bearing the seal of the government responsibility, and adopted by the House, the French language, both in fact and right, in law as well as in the spirit of the constitution, shall in the future be on an equal footing in the administration of all departments...It is with both hands that I welcome this bill, as a crowning event of forty years of conflict carried on in defence of the French language."¹⁹

The conflict to which Bourassa referred was as evident in Parliament as in the administrative departments. It had its roots, not in any conscious opposition by English-speaking M.P.s to the equal status of French, but in the assumption that English was the working language of Parliament and the civil service, together with the inevitable mechanical problems involved in rendering bulky documents from one language to another under the pressure of time. The translation of debates and committee reports obviously requires competent translators. It also requires an edited copy of each document in the original language, the preparation of which takes time; and then the actual translation into the other language, followed by typesetting, proof-reading and printing, which takes still

¹⁸ Ibid., 1906-7, p. 3656.

¹⁹ Ibid., 1934, p. 1001.

more time. The result was that from the beginning printed translations of even major public documents were chronically late; and since French was the language of translation, it was commonly the French editions of everything, including the parliamentary debates, which were late.

Instances of delay, and of complaints about the delay, are so commonplace in the debates of the House of Commons before the creation of the Bureau for Translation as to need no chronicling. "Until 1918, when the English and French editions of the [Auditor General's] report were published bound within the same covers, the French translation of the report followed the English original by several weeks, so it was physically impossible in most sessions for members familiar only with French, whatever their personal desires, to perform their duties in regard to the Auditor General's report."²⁰ The Solicitor General, speaking in support of the Bureau for Translations in 1934, gave some impressive examples of late translations:

"...This year, only 12 French reports compared to 29 English reports are at the disposal of the House, and in previous years the situation was worse...The annual report of the Pensions and National Health department for the year 1928-29, was issued in English in February, 1930, and in French in July, 1931...the report of the Secretary of State for the year 1929-30, was issued in English in March, 1931, and in French in January, 1932...I have here a list of 15 reports the French version of which was only issued long after the English one, and the delay varies from 17 months to 12, 9, 7 and 6 months."²¹

In the same debate another member dug deeply into Hansard to produce examples of other delays from the parliamentary sessions of 1889, 1902, and 1906,

²⁰ Norman Ward, The Public Purse, (Toronto, 1961), p. 150.

²¹ Canada, Official Report of Debates, House of Commons, 1934, pp. 1196-7.

making the point that late translations were a handicap to a member not only in Ottawa, but in his service to his electors:

"We receive letters almost every day from our constituents asking us when they can get a certain document in French. The French version of the debates are often from two to three weeks behind, and those of bills and other public documents are often a month or more. I have known of a delay of six months before we could get the French translations of certain public documents. Almost every year there is an extraordinary case."²²

Nor was delay alone the sole cause of dissatisfaction. The quality of translation, though not nearly so fruitful a source of complaint as was tardiness, was nonetheless commonly referred to. The Secretary of State showed the House of Commons in 1934, for example, a proof of a French text in which the corrections "necessitated practically a complete re-printing of the entire text,"²³ with a consequent substantial increase in cost. The minister used this fact as part of the justification for centralizing the translation services in a bureau under the direct jurisdiction of a minister, instead of leaving them, as had been the case until 1934, scattered haphazardly throughout the parliamentary staff and some of the departments. The bluebook branch of the House of Commons staff, the minister said in 1934, "was organized as a temporary expedient in 1913 with a view to abolish, or at least curtail, the practice of sending departmental reports for translation outside of Ottawa to political friends as a means of political patronage."²⁴ It is hardly surprising

²² Ibid., 1906-7, p. 3664, quoted in ibid., 1934, p. 1223.

²³ Ibid., 1934, p. 982. See also Report of the Royal Commission on Government Organization, (Ottawa, 1962), Vol. 3, p. 104.

²⁴ Canada, Official Report of Debates, House of Commons, 1934, p. 983.

that a translation system which included such devices should have been on occasion unsatisfactory, particularly since "by the 1930's several important departments were still without translators, and relying on the spare-time work of the parliamentary staff. A long document might thus be broken up and worked on by several individuals, to the consequent detriment of the quality and consistency of translation."²⁵

The history of the attempts to cope with the problems of parliamentary translation is a complex one, but one which can be summarized briefly. For several decades after Confederation, as has been noted, successive governments took the view that translation was an internal domestic matter affecting the House of Commons, as distinct from the executive, and the result was that the translation system, pushed one way by members desiring improved service, and another by members desirous of exploiting the patronage available, became a hodge-podge which continued from session to session, under continual criticism, but with no one actually responsible for it on a continuing basis. As late as 1909, over four decades after Confederation, only two executive departments appear to have had their own translators; the others either relied on the parliamentary staff or, more simply, confined their output to English. Sometimes the translators were desperately overworked; at other times they were idle for prolonged periods. Those specializing in rendering English into French usually had vastly more to do than those doing the reverse, thus raising vexing problems of the proper salary scale to be employed for translators. It was for long a system pleasing only to those who were indifferent to it, or unaware of what

²⁵Ward, "Parliamentary Bilingualism in Canada," p. 159.

bilingualism in a Parliament truly meant.

In 1910 an experienced translator was sent to study bilingualism in Belgium and Switzerland, but no drastic reorganization appears to have followed his visit. The parliamentary staff was somewhat rationalized in 1913 by the creation of clear-cut division between translators of debates and translators of bluebooks, the whole remaining under the Speaker of the House. In 1934, when arguing for the establishment of Bureau for Translations, the Secretary of State accurately advised the House of Commons that

"the inefficiency of the translation service is due largely to the fact that it has developed in a haphazard way and has never been organized with a view to distributing the work, so that no translator would be idle, apart from a reasonably long holiday for rest and recreation during the summer months, and that no translator should be underworked or overworked, underpaid or overpaid."²⁶

The Bureau for Translations, which since 1934 has unobtrusively been in charge of translation for both Parliament and the executive branches of the government, had its immediate origins in a House of Commons committee, and a second committee composed of leading civil servants, both of which in the early 1930's came to the conclusion that something had to be done. The government accepted this conclusion by creating the Bureau, whose statutory duties could hardly be more specific:

"...to collaborate with and act for all departments of the Public Service, and both Houses of Parliament of Canada, and all bureaus, branches, commissions and agencies created or appointed by Act of Parliament, or by the Governor in Council, in making and revising all translations from one language into another of all departmental and other reports, documents, debates, bills, acts, proceedings and

correspondence."²⁷

The Bureau for Translation's internal organization need not concern us here. What is significant is that the Bureau, with an establishment now approaching three hundred translators, has succeeded in bringing order to the chaotic translation system that preceded it. No one claims the Bureau, and the allied activities necessary to its work, to be perfect: the Royal Commission on Government Organization, for example, reporting in 1962, referred yet again to delays caused by the "inadequate coordination of translation work with production" as well as insufficient staff, and pointed out that there would be more delays of greater duration "were it not for the fact that much of the current information material appears only in English."²⁸ But the House of Commons itself now hears far fewer complaints than formerly in regard to parliamentary documents and other materials necessary to a member if he is to perform his functions adequately. The fundamental problems of translating the written word, in short, have been substantially solved, and that fact, combined with simultaneous translation of the spoken word, and the extension of simultaneous translation to committees of the House of Commons, puts parliamentary bilingualism in Canada on the strongest base it has yet enjoyed.

A discussion of the mechanical and organizational aspects of translating would be incomplete if it did not conclude by emphasizing that parliamentary bilingualism must always involve more than the literal rendering of words from one language into another. "Translation", in the

²⁷ Revised Statutes of Canada, 1952, Ch. 270, s. 3. (1).

²⁸ Report of the Royal Commission on Government Organization (Ottawa, 1962), Vol. 2, p. 285; Vol. 3, pp. 106-8.

words of the Royal Commission on Government Organization,

"is not and can never be a purely mechanical process which can be undertaken by anyone with a working knowledge of both languages. It must, if it is to be effective, be a paraphrase which takes account of idiom as well as syntax ... In Canada, translation between English and French presents peculiar problems. In each language many words have acquired connotations unknown in the country of origin. French in Canada has absorbed different anglicisms from those adopted in France, as well as many American words and terms, and no good French-American dictionary is available. English usage in Canada has accepted American meanings of some words but adheres to the British meanings of others."²⁹

The relevance of those observations to a House of Commons that talks most of the year is obvious.

But quite apart from translation as such, the implications of parliamentary bilingualism in Canada have often reached beyond language above into the less easily charted waters of partisanship, prejudice and emotion. Dalton McCarthy's well-known bill of 1890, intended to abolish the use of French as an official language in the North West Territories in the interests of a "community of language," precipitated a long debate which ended in a momentary defeat for McCarthy's proposition, but not before the House had been sharply and, in some individual instances, bitterly divided.³⁰ Laurier quoted a speech of McCarthy's in which the latter referred to the French Canadians as a "bastard nationality ... which begins and ends with the French race -- which begins and ends with those who profess the Roman Catholic faith, and which now threatens the dismemberment of Canada."³¹ Laurier's speech evoked a sympathetic reply from

²⁹ Ibid., Vol. 3, pp. 103-4.

³⁰ Canada, Official Report of Debates, House of Commons, 1890, pp. 38 ff., 532 ff., 726 ff.

³¹ Ibid., p. 726.

Sir John A. Macdonald, who in his opening paragraph uttered one of his most famous statements:

"I have no accord with the desire expressed in some quarters that by any mode whatever there should be an attempt made to oppress the one language or to render it inferior to the other; I believe that would be impossible if it were tried, and it would be foolish and wicked if it were possible. The statement that has been made so often that this is a conquered country is à propos de rien. Whether it was conquered or ceded, we have a constitution now under which all British subjects are in a position of absolute equality, having equal rights of every kind -- of language, of religion, of property and of person. There is no paramount race in this country; there is no conquered race in this country."³²

The House of Commons during the debate in 1890 specifically rejected, by a vote of 149-50, the doctrine of a "community of language" in Canada, and affirmed its "adherence to the said covenants" of the British North America Act.³³ The debate is significant not only for that, but as an example of the House being used as a forum for the discussion of bilingualism, with both languages being freely employed, and French and English-speaking members combining on a common stand. A handful of French-speaking members, it is interesting to note, voted against the relevant motions because they included an additional clause unacceptable to them.

Quite different alignments developed in 1907 when Armand Lavergne moved:

"That it is in the interest and for the well-being of the Dominion, and in accord with the Confederation agreement of 1867, that the French language, which in virtue of the constitution is official, be placed on a footing of equality with the English language in all public matters -- for instance in the coinage of moneys and in the administration of postal affairs."³⁴

³² Ibid., p. 745.

³³ Ibid., pp. 1017-8.

³⁴ Ibid., 1906-7, p. 3641.

This motion produced a sharp division between French Canadian M.P.s; for while they were virtually unanimous in their dissatisfaction over the status of French, many of them were loathe to admit, as a matter of principle, that French was not in fact on a basis of absolute equality with English. Sir Wilfrid Laurier, as Prime Minister, chose the second course and moved in amendment that "the French language is, in fact, as well as by the constitution, on a footing of equality with the English language."³⁵ This obliged him to place minimal importance on such matters as bilingual bank notes, insistence on which he described as "pedantic." The House of Commons did not divide on the issue, the topic being talked out, but Lavergne received support, and a wealth of pertinent illustrative material, from Henri Bourassa, who was exercised over the small amounts of French used on the Intercolonial Railway's Quebec leg; a complaint with which Laurier agreed.

Considerable mention has already been made of the debates in 1934 on the establishment of the Bureau for Translations, and it is not intended to recapitulate those proceedings here. The debate of 1934 revealed yet another implication of parliamentary bilingualism, for it showed members opposing the Bureau because it centralized the translation services under a minister: this, several variously argued, would destroy the existing decentralized system (and with that, presumably, some useful patronage in which members had some influence); would derogate from the privileges of the House of Commons, whose Speaker then was in charge of translation; and would actually endanger the French language, by relegating it

³⁵

Ibid., p. 3657.

permanently to the status of a language of translation instead of that of an official original text.

As these samplings from the debates suggest, parliamentary bilingualism implies a great deal more than simple translation. Translation of both the spoken and written word has produced many problems, which have been wholly or partially solved by the application of many devices. Not once, interestingly enough, has the House of Commons considered one of the most obvious solutions that occurs to one reading the House of Commons Debates: that the most efficient way to minimize many of the multifarious difficulties that can arise in a bilingual Parliament over language would be to have fluently bilingual M.P.s. The solution seems obvious because time and again what has prevented the House of Commons from reaching a complete impasse has been the fact that many members, and most notably French Canadian members, have been bilingual. "What would happen in this house," a veteran member and former Speaker asked rhetorically on one occasion, "if French members were to speak nothing but French, if they were to move amendments in French, raise their points of order in French, make their motions in French and ignore the English language completely? Where would we be? Could the business of this house be carried on?" The reverse side of the coin, as seen by an English-speaking member, was revealed in 1955 by Mr. Harold Winch, M.P. Of his French-speaking colleagues Mr. Winch said: "It is their God-given right to use the French tongue but why do they insist on it when they know the majority of the members are English-speaking and can't speak it themselves?"³⁶

³⁶ Ibid., 1934, p. 1226; 1955, p. 556. The latter quotation is from a newspaper article cited in debate.

III. Parliamentary Biculturalism

The institutions of a society are part of its culture. It is necessary, in examining the effect of two languages on the House of Commons, to include a consideration of how the members speaking the separate languages have shared the major duties and offices of the House between the two groups. A completely comprehensive study of such arrangements would probably be impossible, for many of the important relationships between members are exceedingly informal, ranging, for example, from casual to serious discussions in corridors, offices, the barber shop, the cafeteria and the dining room. The same is true of members' relationships with newsmen, and with constituents and other visitors. The major institutions of the House can be studied, however, and it is to them that this section is devoted.

The most conspicuous of these institutions is the Cabinet, the majority of whose members have always sat in the House of Commons; nowadays, indeed, the Senate does not always have even one representative in the Cabinet. Since the Cabinet is the subject of a separate study,³⁷ it is not necessary to comment on it in detail, beyond pointing out that (a) every Cabinet has reflected the existence of the two main language groups, and no Prime Minister has attempted to choose his colleagues from just one of them; and (b) certain portfolios, of which Finance is the most prominent example, have been monopolized by English-speaking Canadians, while there are no portfolios that have been monopolized by French Canadians. The

³⁷ See study prepared for the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism by R. VanLoon. (Title not available as yet.)

office of Prime Minister is not one of the monopolized portfolios, the House of Commons having given its confidence for prolonged periods to two French Canadians, Laurier and St. Laurent; Laurier, in fact, had the longest unbroken period of office of any Prime Minister, from 1896 to 1911, and also led his party longer than any other, from 1887 to 1919.

Closely related to the bicultural nature of the Cabinet is the House's own chief office, the Speakership. "The fact that the Prime Minister is faced with finding a new Speaker immediately after a general election, when he is usually engaged in forming a new Cabinet or reconstructing an old one, means that the Speakership becomes involved in the process of Cabinet-making. It is normally an alternative to Cabinet office."³⁸ The Speakership is thus an important element in the balancing of representation, and since Confederation some discernible patterns have developed in connection with it.

One of these, interestingly enough, has not involved an insistence on the Speaker's being bilingual. While the House of Commons has had several bilingual Speakers, the great majority of them, as among the members at large, have come from French-speaking backgrounds, although not always from Quebec; two recent incumbents, Speakers Lambert and Lamoureux, respectively represented constituencies in Alberta and Ontario, and Mr. N.A. Belcourt, Speaker in 1904, was from Ottawa. The Speakership has generally reflected the claims of English and French in two ways other than bilingualism in the Chair: the Speakership is frequently alternated between members of

³⁸ James H. Aitchison, "The Speakership of the Canadian House of Commons" in Robert M. Clark (ed.), Canadian Issues: Essays in Honour of Henry F. Angus, (Toronto, 1959), p. 48.

English and French backgrounds; and the Deputy Speaker (an office created in 1885) is required to have a knowledge of the language other than that in which the Speaker is fluent.

The alternation between Speakers from English and French backgrounds has been far from regular, and has been influenced in part by party-turnovers in general elections, accompanied by the vicissitudes of Cabinet-making already referred to. Of the twenty-seven M.P.'s who have held the office, ten have been from Quebec (one of them Mr. Alan Macnaughton) and three other French-speaking Speakers, as noted, came from outside the province. Eleven Speakers have come from Ontario constituencies, almost all of them from that province's southern regions, which points up the fact that the Speakership, perhaps because of the interest in alternating the post between representatives of the two language groups, is peculiarly associated with central Canada: Manitoba has produced two Speakers, and Alberta, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia and the Yukon one each; no Speakers have come from British Columbia, Saskatchewan, Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland.

A similar pattern can be seen in the office of Deputy Speaker, which has had thirty-two incumbents. Sixteen of these have been from Quebec, ten from Ontario, three from Nova Scotia, one each from Saskatchewan, Manitoba and Newfoundland, and none from British Columbia, Alberta, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island. The practice of supplying an English-speaking Speaker with a French-speaking Deputy has been followed virtually without exception since 1887, although the first appointment of a Deputy in 1885, when Mr. Speaker Kirkpatrick from Ontario was joined by Deputy Speaker Daly from Nova Scotia, and the Prime Minister conceded that Mr. Daly's French was not as good as it might have been, was hardly a promising

start. The English-French dichotomy in the House of Commons' chief offices has not always meant an Ontario-Quebec team: thus apart from the Kirkpatrick-Daly combination in 1885, Speaker Glen (Manitoba) was assisted by Mr. Bradette (Ontario); Speaker Lambert (Alberta) by Mr. Chown (Manitoba); and Speaker Lamoureux by Mr. Batten (Newfoundland). There is no instance of the Speakership and Deputy Speakership being held at the same time by two members from Quebec, or by two French Canadians.

Two additional observations about the Speakership are relevant. The Speaker is the government's nominee, and governments have not always been scrupulously careful to select men noted for their conciliatory attitudes where language is concerned. Mr. Sproule, Speaker from 1911 to 1915, was an active Orangeman who in the debate of 1907 on Armand Lavergne's motion for the equality of English and French in all public matters had said: "I disagree with the contention of the hon. gentlemen that the two languages should be on an equal footing."³⁹ Lavergne himself had a considerable reputation as a nationalist, but he became Deputy Speaker in 1930. And it seems clear that on occasion at least the attitudes of members towards the Speakerships as such has varied with their backgrounds. The celebrated pipeline debate of 1956 found many English-speaking M.P.s profoundly exercised over the principles involved, and many English Canadian newspapers called for the resignation of Mr. Speaker Beaudoin. No French Canadian member emerged as a champion of parliamentary principles, and leading Quebec journalists differed sharply with their English-speaking colleagues. "Indeed," a perceptive observer of the Canadian scene has written, "had the crisis over the Speaker's office aroused any considerable

³⁹ Canada, Official Report of Debates, House of Commons, 1906-7, p. 3668.

excitement at all in Quebec, it most surely would have been interpreted as a racial attack on Mr. Louis-Rene Beaudoin!"⁴⁰

To that can be added a final conclusion: the bilingual nature of the Canadian House of Commons is undoubtedly an important factor in the rotation of the Speakership among members, and the rotation itself, which ordinarily gives each Speaker a short term in office, is hard on the Speakership:

"The most obvious and serious disadvantage of the short term is that the Speaker, whose function is essentially a judicial one, is not unequivocally put in the position where he has nothing to lose by doing right and nothing to gain by doing wrong... It aggravates the difficulty, already somewhat greater in Canada than in Britain by reason of Canada's smaller House, of getting competence in the Chair; and there is no doubt that the Canadian House of Commons has suffered severely on occasion from incompetence."⁴¹

The duality that pervades the House of Commons' major offices is found in some form throughout the House's affairs. Interestingly enough, language plays no part in the allocation among members of seats in the chamber, or of offices in the building. But the Speech from the Throne, for example, has been presented in both languages since Confederation (actually since 1848 in the legislature of the Province of Canada), and the prayer with which the House opens its sittings has been read on alternate days in English and French since the practice began in 1878. (The language in which the prayer was to be read initially provoked some interesting discussion, those who believed that in such an instance one language was surely enough being met with the counter proposition that the

⁴⁰ Pierre Elliott Trudeau, "Some Obstacles to Democracy in Quebec", in Mason Wade (ed.) Canadian Dualism, (Toronto, 1960), p. 249.

⁴¹ Aitchison, op. cit., p. 48.

deity was presumably bilingual.⁴²) The suggestion that the annual budget should be presented in both languages was made at least as early as 1932,⁴³ but it was not until 1958 that a Minister of Finance used both languages on a budget night. "It is surprising to me," he said on that occasion, "that in a parliament with two official languages enjoying complete equality every part of the budget speech has always been delivered in English."⁴⁴ In part, of course, this phenomenon represented the monopolization of the Finance portfolio by English Canadians, but it is also true that another of the differences between English and French-speaking members in the House of Commons is that the latter, with few exceptions, have not played an active role in parliamentary finance generally. At one point in the history of the House the Public Accounts Committee virtually died, partly because it had been primarily the Opposition's forum and in 1917 a turn of the electoral wheel produced an Opposition in which sixty-two of eighty-two members were from Quebec.⁴⁵

Not every aspect of the House of Commons reveals that sharp differentiation between members from the two backgrounds. A study of formal divisions in the first and second sessions of the twenty-sixth Parliament led to the discovery that "there is no significant difference between the average absentee rate of French and English-speaking members."⁴⁶ The real

⁴² Norman Ward, "Prayers in the Commons," in Mice in the Beer (Toronto, 1960).

⁴³ Canada, Official Report of Debates, House of Commons, 1932, p. 1989.

⁴⁴ Ibid., 1958, p. 3332.

⁴⁵ See Norman Ward, The Public Purse, p. 155 and passim.

⁴⁶ Judy Dibben, Divisions, unpublished research study prepared in the offices of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism.

distinctions in regard to absenteeism at divisions bore no discernible relation to the English-French dichotomy; rather, the prairie members tended to have the highest absentee rate, the Maritime representatives the lowest. Many factors influence attendance at divisions (a government with a very small majority, for example, would have to insist on a higher attendance rate from its supporters than would one with a large majority) and it would be dangerous to try to read into attendance figures conclusions that the evidence does not support. The study does suggest that the subject matter of individual divisions affects attendance, as does the day of the week, the most heavily attended divisions generally being on Tuesdays and Wednesdays; even so, an important division on a Monday or Friday would still be well attended. A few divisions, such as those in the flag, are clearly capable of causing members to vote contrary to the majority of their party, for Quebec Conservative members supported the Liberal government on this issue, either by voting with it, or abstaining from voting against it. Analysis of the divisions suggested that French-speaking members were slightly more inclined to vote independently of their party than were English-speaking, though in both cases cohesion was high.

A similar study of questions asked during the first two sessions of the twenty-sixth Parliament revealed, as might be expected, that the real differentiations in activity were between government and opposition members, rather than between English and French.⁴⁷ A government supporter is not ordinarily anxious to embarrass his leaders, and his questions tend to be limited to requests for information. An opposition member has a variety of additional reasons for asking questions, including the possible

⁴⁷ Judy Dibben, Questions, unpublished research paper prepared in the offices of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism.

embarrassment of the government, and is therefore much more inclined to be an active questioner, as the following shows:

Table 1.2

Average Number of Questions Asked by M.P.'s in the First Two Sessions of the Twenty-Sixth Parliament, by Party and Language Groups

Party	French	English
Liberals	0.88	2.29
Progressive Conservative	30.86	16.32
New Democrat	--	54.94
Ralliement Cr�ditiste	36.15	--
Social Credit	17.14	9.5
All parties	11.75	9.42

Again, as with divisions, the bold statistics do not reveal a number of significant facts, such as the quality of questions asked, and the uses to which M.P.s put the answers; but it is again significant that the figures reveal no major differences between English and French-speaking members as such.

Much clearer distinctions between the activities of the two groups emerge when one turns to the committee system of the House of Commons. The committees are an integral part of the machinery of the House, for they are widely used to conduct inquiries, to examine legislation, and to study departmental estimates. Since a member's participation in the work of the committees reflects to a large extent his own choice of interests in parliamentary affairs, the committees are a sensitive indicator of the activities of both individual members, and groups of members. It has already been remarked by an experienced M.P., comparing the performance

of English and French-speaking members on committees, that

"a more pertinent explanation of the poor Liberal show is the noticeable failure of French Canadian members, as a whole, to attend committee meetings... French Canadians have a markedly different attitude to parliamentary responsibilities. Somehow they seem alien to the routine. It is a much larger issue than one of attendance. They seem to have more prestige among their constituents than have English-speaking members, and they tend to get more constituency work of all kinds."⁴⁸

The evidence adduced above suggests that "parliamentary disinterest" is too sweeping a term for a set of attitudes that may well be different, but not necessarily indicative of disinterest. Nonetheless, the "different" attitudes of French Canadians have often been a source of comment, and a variety of reasons have been offered for the differences. Thus writers have pointed to the relative absence of a democratic parliamentary tradition in Quebec; the strangeness of both Ottawa and Parliament as peculiarly English-Canadians phenomena; the special interests that a minority is bound to have in its own language and traditions, with a consequent reliance on executive rather than parliamentary action; and the distrust in Quebec that is frequently engendered by men who go to Ottawa and become involved there.⁴⁹ Whatever the reason, it seems clear "that the French Canadians as a group are not fully involved in the committee system."⁵⁰

⁴⁸D.M. Fisher, "Parliamentary Committees in the 24th Parliament," in Paul Fox (ed.) Politics: Canada, (Toronto, 1962), p. 209.

⁴⁹See, e.g., Pierre-Elliott Trudeau, op. cit.; H.F. Quinn, The Union Nationale, (Toronto, 1963); A. Laurendau in Nos Hommes Politiques, (Montreal, 1964); Michael Oliver in ibid.; Norman Ward in Mason Wade (ed.), Canadian Dualism; P. Desbarats, The State of Quebec, (Toronto, 1965).

⁵⁰Judy Dibben, The Committee System of the House of Commons, unpublished research study prepared in the offices of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism.

A number of aspects of participation in committee work lend themselves to statistical measurement, but the statistics must always be considered in the light of the facts that simultaneous translation of committee proceedings has only recently become general, and that French translations of even major documents originally available in English have since Confederation been chronically late. Quite apart from his own motives, in short, a French Canadian member who spoke English badly or not at all has until modern times been enormously handicapped in the affairs of parliamentary committees, and a tradition of active committee participation among French-speaking members could hardly have been expected to develop as a spontaneous growth.

With that in mind, we can turn to an actual record of performance of M.P.'s on House of Commons committees. For purposes of comparison, the third session of the twenty-fourth Parliament (1960) and the second session of the twenty-sixth (1964-5) were selected, the former because it was a year of particularly active committees, the latter because it was the most recent year for which a complete set of documents was available. The two Parliaments were themselves markedly different, and the large majority enjoyed by the government in 1960, as compared with the minority government in 1964-5, undoubtedly skewed statistics concerning the composition of committees, the participation of members, and the selection of chairmen and vice-chairmen.

Several generalizations can nevertheless be cautiously made as a result of detailed study of the committees in these two Parliaments:

1. No places on committees are specifically reserved for members on the basis of their mother tongue. It was not uncommon, for example, for

a French Canadian M.P. on a committee to be replaced by an English Canadian, and vice versa. In both parliamentary sessions, nonetheless, the share of committee places allotted to French-speaking members was smaller than their share of back-bench seats in the House of Commons as a whole, while that of English Canadians was larger. French Canadian M.P.s, that is, were measurably under-represented on committees in both sessions: in 1960 they held 26.9% of the back-bench seats in the House of Commons, and were allotted 21.9% of the committee places; in 1964 the relevant figures were 27% and 24.7%.

2. The activity of French-speaking members in committees is increasing, in terms of actual membership, attendance and share of committee chairmanships. The chief factor in this change appears to be the number of vigorous M.P.s from Quebec who include among their duties the protection of the "rights" of French Canadians.

3. Despite this change, English Canadian members remain demonstrably more active on committees. In both sessions studied not one of the twenty top attenders at committee meetings was French-speaking; at the other end of the scale, French Canadian members were over-represented among the poorer attenders at committees. Though their performance was stronger in 1964-5 than in 1960, one-third of their number were still in the bottom 20% of committee attenders.

4. Proportionate to their strength in the House of Commons, French-speaking members received less than their share of committee chairmanships and vice-chairmanships in 1960, but more in 1964-5. The total figures obscure the fact that English Canadians get more than their share of

chairmanships, and French Canadians more than their share of vice-chairmanships, while English Canadians dominate the chairs of those committees which have no vice-chairman. The statistics can be tabulated thus:

Table 1.3

Chairmanships and Vice-Chairmanships of Committees, by Mother Tongue,
for Selected Sessions, House of Commons, in Percentages

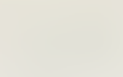
	1960			1964-5		
	Chairman	Vice Chairman	Chairman Only	Chairman	Vice Chairman	Chairman Only
English	85.7	64.3	100.0	76.9	38.5	100.0
French	14.3	35.7		23.1	61.5	
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Judy Dibben, The Committee System of the House of Commons.

5. A clear pattern concerning the sharing of committee chairmanships and vice-chairmanships has emerged. In 1960, only seven of fourteen committees having both a chairman and a vice-chairman had a "team" consisting of one English-speaking and one French-speaking M.P. In 1964-5, eleven of twelve committees had a bilingual combination in the chairs.

6. The clerks assigned to House of Commons committees, whose chief duties include arranging meetings, taking attendance, advising on procedure, preparing transcripts of proceedings for printing, and other purely routine matters,⁵¹ between 1960 and 1964 changed from a pre-

⁵¹ See Fisher, op. cit., p. 212.



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dominantly English-speaking to a predominantly French-speaking staff. In 1960 one clerk in six was French-speaking; in 1964 four in six. The change appears to reflect in part a more aggressive policy in connection with a bilingual parliamentary staff, in part the use of more translation in the committees themselves.

7. There is no discernible correlation between the mother tongue of the committee clerks and the committees to which they were assigned. Committees with the largest number of French-speaking members of Parliament, or having the highest attendance of French-speaking members, in both sessions had English-speaking clerks. French-speaking committee chairmen were not necessarily assigned French-speaking clerks, or vice versa.

The clerkships of the committees, a relatively insignificant part of the parliamentary machinery, and the vice-chairmanships, which are of course all subordinate to chairmanships, together comprise the only aspects of the parliamentary committee system currently dominated by French Canadians. These facts, when set in the historical context of bilingualism in the House of Commons, must be taken as typical of the real nature of parliamentary bilingualism in Canada. Just as the Prime Minister, who is theoretically the constitutional equal of his cabinet colleagues is de facto the first among them, so is English the first among the two equal languages prescribed by the British North America Act. Members of Parliament are also theoretically equal, but no English-speaking member has ever had to concern himself with making sure that English versions of bills, debates, resolutions, motions, committee proceedings and annual departmental reports were available when he needed them. The French-speaking member, by contrast, has had to exercise continuing vigilance to ensure that he could

serve both himself in his duties at Ottawa, and his constituents at home, with materials in a wholly familiar tongue. Nor can he relax in 1966 merely because conditions have been improving. On January 28, 1966, Mr. Gérard Laprise, M.P., rose in his place to say:

"In view of the fact that the Translation Division of the Department of Agriculture has succeeded in publishing in both languages at the same time the department's annual report, for which it reserves high praise, could the Prime Minister not ask them for help so that we might get the French copies of public bills at the same time as the English copies?"⁵²

The Prime Minister promised to do what he could.

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Canada, House of Commons Debates (daily edition), January 28, 1966, pp. 375-6.

CHAPTER TWO

THE HOUSE OF COMMONS OF THE TWENTY-SIXTH PARLIAMENT IN ITS HISTORICAL CONTEXT AS A REPRESENTATIVE BODY

A complete profile of the membership of the twenty-sixth Parliament, elected in 1963, is not strictly relevant to the purposes of this study, and it is intended here to present only those aspects of it that relate particularly to the material which follows. The twenty-sixth Parliament was chosen for the obvious reason that it included the only House of Commons available, and the statistics derived from previous Parliaments are added to help put the study in a historical context.

It has been known for some time that the process by which candidates are nominated and elected to the House of Commons, though legally available to practically everybody, is highly selective, putting particular emphasis repeatedly on some groups in the population, while all but ignoring others. Thus the members have never been a representative cross-section of the adult population in terms of sex or age, being drawn overwhelmingly from the male segment, and predominantly from the years forty to sixty within that. A distinct preference for native-born candidates as compared with immigrants has been a characteristic of representation in the House of Commons since roughly the turn of the century, although before that the contrary was true. Particular occupations, notably law and business, have regularly been represented in Parliament in numbers in excess of

their proportionate position in the population at large.¹

It is not the purpose of this chapter either to explain or defend such phenomena, but merely to describe relevant aspects of the House of Commons in the twenty-sixth Parliament as they concern the objects of this study. Ethnic origin is of course a primary consideration:

Table 2.1

Membership in the House of Commons
in 1963 by Ethnic Origin,
Compared with the Population

Ethnic Origin	House of Commons (%)	Population (%)
British	51.7	43.8
French	31.4	30.4
Other	10.5	25.8
Not Known	6.4	

Source: Caroline Andrew, The Political Background of Members of the Twenty-sixth House of Commons, unpublished B.A. thesis, University of British Columbia, 1964; p. 14; Canada Year Book, 1965.

These figures, which suggest a substantial "over-representation" in the House of Commons of citizens of British origin and an equally substantial under-representation of the non-British and non-French, may be complemented and set in a historical context by another statistical distribution:

¹See Norman Ward, The Canadian House of Commons: Representation, (Toronto, 1950), Chapter VII.

Table 2.2

Composition of House of Commons
by Members' Birthplaces,
for Parliaments Elected in Selected Years

Birthplace	1867	1882	1900	1921	1940	1963
British Columbia	-	-	-	2	1	7
Alberta	-	-	-	-	3	15
Saskatchewan	-	-	-	-	3	22
Manitoba	1	-	-	1	11	10
Ontario	39	65	91	105	99	80
Quebec	58	83	77	74	67	73
New Brunswick	10	20	12	15	10	7
Nova Scotia	17	20	23	19	16	10
P.E.I.	-	8	7	5	6	4
Newfoundland	-	-	-	-	-	6
England	18	6	6	9	7	6
Scotland	18	13	8	5	6	3
Ireland	24	12	3	5	3	-
Wales	-	1	-	1	-	-
U.S.A.	6	5	5	3	13	9
Other	6	2	1	1	5	6
Not Known	19	2	8	7	3	8

Source: Norman Ward, The Canadian House of Commons: Representation, (Toronto, 1950), p. 127, Canadian Parliamentary Guide, 1965.

The tables confirm both the bias in favour of native-born candidates already referred to, and that against those of non-British non-French origins. Within the British and French as a group, furthermore, the bias is clearly in favour of those of British and English-speaking origin. Even if one were to assume that all members of Parliament born in Quebec were French-speaking, Quebec has not in modern times provided the birthplace for many more M.P.'s than the province's own share of seats in the House of Commons, while the members born outside Canada come predominantly from English-speaking countries. The statistics do not reveal how many

French-speaking members have been born outside Quebec, but in any one Parliament the number is not large.

A final relevant table comparing the language group to which M.P.'s appear to belong (admittedly a rather arbitrary classification) with the mother tongues of the population at large provides further confirmatory evidence of the tendencies already shown:

Table 2.3

Composition of the House of Commons in 1963
by Linguistic Group, with Mother Tongues of the Population

Linguistic Group	House of Commons (%)	Mother Tongue of Population (%)
English	69.8	58.45
French	30.1	28.09
Other	-	13.46

Source: Caroline Andrew, op. cit., p. 8; Canada Year Book, 1965.

Using quite different statistics, a Canadian sociologist has recently concluded: "The Canadian political élite has scarcely been representative of Canada's ethnic composition."²

Ethnic origin and mother tongue apart, the religious composition of the House of Commons reveals some interesting variations in the membership of the House and the population:

² John Porter, The Vertical Mosaic, (Toronto, 1965), p. 389.

Table 2.4

Composition of the House of Commons in 1963,
and the Population, by Religious Affiliation

Religious Affiliation	House of Commons (%)	Population (%)
Roman Catholic	36.0	45.7
United Church	25.1	20.1
Anglican	14.9	13.2
Presbyterian	7.7	4.5
Baptist	3.2	3.3
Lutheran	2.8	3.6
Other and Not Known	10.3	9.6

Source: Caroline Andrew, op. cit., p. 10; Canada Year Book, 1965.

The under-representation of the Roman Catholics, and the over-representation of the chief Protestant denominations, are noteworthy.

Classifying members of Parliament according to the amount of formal education they have received is at best an arbitrary procedure, for provincial educational systems, and the degrees and certificates they offer, vary sufficiently that statistical identification of (for example) a bachelor's degree, does not necessarily mean the same thing across the country. The same is true of other apparently simple categories: a high school graduate with one year of teacher training, and a university graduate with a bachelor's degree in arts and education, are both qualified as professional teachers; but should they be counted as having equivalent professional training? In the table which follows, an attempt has been made to show the composition of the House of Commons stratified by educational attainment, and it must be emphasized that both the categories

used, and the allocation of members to the categories, are based on fairly arbitrary decisions.

Table 2.5

Composition of the House of Commons in 1963
by Members' Educational Status, in Percentages

Category	
Public School Only	4.2
Secondary School Only	23.2
University Training, including bachelor's degree	16.1
Professional or Graduate Degree or Professional Qualification	49.4
Not Known	7.1

Source: Canadian Parliamentary Guide, 1965.

The obvious conclusion to be drawn from the table is that members of Parliament are, as a group, highly educated as compared with the general population. Further, the high degree of education attained by M.P.s includes within itself a disproportionately high number of members with professional qualifications. Not all of these have advanced university degrees, for the training of chartered accountants, for example, has not in the past required a university degree, and a number of the lawyers and professional agriculturalists in the House of Commons have bachelor's degrees in their respective subjects. The fact remains that the professional group in the House, composed in the main of lawyers, doctors, accountants and agriculturalists, is a very large one.

The age composition of the House of Commons, as might be expected, shows very marked departures not only from the age composition of the

total population, but from that of the adult segment of the population. Considerably more than half the population of Canada is under thirty-five, and the composition of the House of Commons elected in 1963 does not come close to reflecting this fact.

Table 2.6

Age Composition of the House of Commons.
Elected in 1963

Age Group	%
26 - 30	3.4
31 - 35	8.3
36 - 40	14.7
41 - 45	18.1
46 - 50	16.2
51 - 55	16.2
56 - 60	9.1
61 - 65	7.2
66 - 70	5.3
71 - 75	1.5

Source: Caroline Andrew, op. cit., p. 11.

That the House of Commons has always had a membership heavily concentrated in a small number of age groups can be demonstrated historically; though the following table is based on slightly different age groupings, the results are the same:

Table 2.7

Age Composition of the House of Commons
for Parliaments Elected in Selected Years

Ages	1867	1882	1900	1921	1940
20 - 24	1	-	2	-	-
25 - 29	3	4	3	-	4
30 - 34	21	21	14	10	13
35 - 39	24	36	13	22	15
40 - 44	42	45	34	41	29
45 - 49	34	44	44	46	51
50 - 54	35	34	32	41	43
55 - 59	13	27	38	37	39
60 - 64	7	14	25	25	34
65 - 69	2	5	12	14	16
70 - 74	-	3	5	6	5
75 - 79	-	-	2	-	1
80 - 84	-	-	-	-	-
Median Age	44.9	46.2	50.3	50.2	51.5

Source: Norman Ward, op. cit., p. 129.

The median age of members, which rose gradually from 1867 to the 1940's, dropped back into the 46 - 50 bracket for 1963. A drop in either the median or average age of members of Parliament commonly reflects a large turnover in the membership of the House which brings in an unusually large number of younger members, and such a turnover occurred in 1958. The subsequent turnover in the election was close to normal, but that in 1962 and 1963 was relatively small as is shown in these figures:

Table 2.8

New Members in the House of Commons for
Parliaments Elected in Selected Years, in Percentages

Year	1882	1900	1921	1940	1963
%	47.8	47.5	58.7	36.8	19.6

Source: Norman Ward, op. cit., p. 116; Caroline Andrew, op. cit.

A small turnover means a higher percentage of members with parliamentary experience, and this too can be shown statistically. Historically, the composition of the House classified according to members' experience has been as follows:

Table 2.9

The Composition of the House of Commons
by Years of Members' Service
at the End of Selected Parliaments

Years of Experience	1882	1900	1921	1940
0 - 5	41.8	46.4	57.0	35.6
6 - 10	27.4	27.5	23.1	37.5
11 - 15	17.9	13.9	5.0	12.7
over 15	12.9	12.2	14.9	14.2

Source: Norman Ward, op. cit., p. 138.

By comparison, the House of Commons elected in 1963 met with the following pattern of experience:

Table 2.10

Composition of the House of Commons Elected in 1963,
Classified by Members' Years of Service

Experience	%
none	19.6
1 - 5 years	50.9
6 - 10 years	18.5
over 10 years	10.6

Source: Caroline Andrew, op. cit., p. 12.

The large turnover in the House of Commons in 1958, followed by the results of 1962 and the small turnover in 1963, contributed to the small number of inexperienced members in 1963, but it also meant a sharp decline in the number of members with unusually long experience.

Finally, the point has been made above that the House of Commons has characteristically been drawn from a relatively small number of occupations. An analysis of the House of Commons elected in 1963, based on the Blishen scale,³ has shown the House to be composed as follows:

³See Bernard R. Blishen, "The Construction and Use of an Occupational Class Scale," Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science, Vol. 24, 1958, pp. 449ff.

Table 2.11

Composition of the House of Commons Elected in 1963,
on the Blishen Groupings

	%
1. Upper Professionals	32.8
2. Professionals and Upper White Collar Workers	40.9
3. White Collar and Upper Blue Collar Workers	6.7
4. Lower White Collar Workers and Blue Collar Workers	1.4
5. Blue Collar Workers	15.7
6. Less Skilled Blue Collar Workers	0.0
7. Lower Blue Collar Workers and Unskilled	0.7
Unclassified	1.8

Source: Caroline Andrew, op. cit., p. 9.

The concentration of House of Commons membership in the upper employment strata hardly needs comment.

There is little in any of these statistics to suggest that the twenty-sixth Parliament was markedly untypical in its composition. As has been noted, the experience-pattern of the House of Commons elected in 1963 was unusual, largely because of the unprecedentedly high turnover of members in 1958 and the results of subsequent elections. But apart from that the House of Commons of 1963, like its predecessors, showed the usual pattern of disparities as a cross-section of the

Canadian population. The disparities themselves vary from Parliament to Parliament, but the fact of the disparities remains a constant.

PART II

CHAPTER THREE

THE SURVEY OF MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT:

METHODS AND PROBLEMS

1. PURPOSES AND PROBLEMS

The Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism commissioned a study of the House of Commons to examine how Canadians from different cultures and language groups work together in an environment which depends on cooperation, and in particular to assess the possible effects of differing attitudes within the two principal linguistic groups of the country. The purpose of the project was to study the role of the Canadian M.P., and to determine if possible whether the role is affected by Canada's bilingual and bicultural character, and by the presence of other cultural groups. The study thus sought to discover the role perceptions of M.P.'s, and to determine how Members go about performing their roles as they perceive them; to examine the relationship between certain structural features of Parliament (such as the House as a whole as compared with its committees) and the Member's performance of his role, with special reference to the use of language; and to examine the channels of communication of ideas and influence between and within the political parties, and especially between English-speaking and French-speaking Members and their constituents.

A study of these proportions suffered from two difficulties from the beginning. In the first place, the paucity of monographs and articles on the subjects under consideration made it necessary to create a large body of original descriptive material before the task of interpretation

could proceed; and secondly, few political scientists in Canada had much experience of the techniques necessary to the acquisition of the essential data. Studies of the role perception and behaviour of legislators have been conducted by American political scientists, but even here there was relatively little literature to guide the researchers.¹ Because of the novelty of this type of study in Canada, and the particular problems encountered in producing a study of this complexity in a relatively short period of time, it seems worthwhile to indicate as clearly as possible not merely the results of the study, but the steps taken to attain them.

II. THE COURSE OF THE RESEARCH

1. The Preliminary Stage: Defining the Project: June 1 to July 20, 1964.²

Working from a general outline of the "Members of Parliament Study" produced by the Director of Research the two authors set about to develop concrete proposals in terms of the division of responsibility of the major researchers. A crucial decision in the early stage was to rely on the use of a structured interview as the source of a great deal of

¹ The most important American research for our purposes was the study by John Wahlke and Heinz Eulau, The Legislative System, based on an analysis of four state legislatures. Their approach was adapted and developed by Allan Kornberg for his research on Canadian M.P.'s. Kornberg's interview schedule was of assistance in the creation of our own interview schedule, although his dissertation was not available at the same time. See Allan Kornberg, Some Differences in Role Perceptions Among Canadian Legislators, Michigan, 1964. Also useful was the interview schedule used by Roger Davidson, David Kovenock and Michael O'Leary for their study, Congressional Reorganization: Problems and Prospects (The Public Affairs Center, Dartmouth College, 1964).

²

See Appendix A for a final description of the project.

primary data on the subject. The interviewing of every M.P. was seriously considered. The researchers were aware of the difficulties of generalizing from material so exclusively derived from the members of the 26th Parliament, however, and resolved to give the study as much historical depth as possible.

2. The Preliminary Interviews: July 20 to August 31, 1964.

The first concrete step was to engage in a series of interviews with M.P.s over the summer of 1964. The purpose of these interviews, which were conducted by Professor Hoffman, was threefold: to test the reaction of M.P.s to the kinds of questions we proposed to ask in the major study; to experiment, through the use of unstructured, free-flowing, interviews, with the variety of questions and approaches that could be taken to the eliciting of information; and to provide the basis for one external check against the reliability of the data acquired through the later structured interviews.³ As the result of a dozen interviews ranging from one hour to three hours with members from all political parties except the Cr ditistes (with whom it did not prove possible to arrange a convenient time), we were convinced of the receptiveness of Members to the project, and were able to acquire information that permitted us to frame our questions in a more incisive manner.

³Ten of the original dozen participants in interviews re-appeared in our sample. Because of the great variety of questions used in the unstructured interviews, it was judged not worthwhile to check the congruence of answers to the two separate interviews in any rigorous way. We simply read over the notes of the unstructured interviews and compared them, where it could be done, with the completed interview schedules based on the "formal interviews". The results of this exercise were encouraging: at least one could say that the more formal relationship had not altered the content of the M.P.s' expressed opinions.

1. The first part of the document discusses the importance of maintaining accurate records of all transactions and activities. It emphasizes the need for transparency and accountability in financial reporting.

2. The second part of the document outlines the various methods and techniques used to collect and analyze data. It includes a detailed description of the experimental procedures and the statistical analysis performed.

3. The third part of the document presents the results of the study. It includes a series of tables and graphs that illustrate the findings of the research. The data shows a clear trend in the relationship between the variables studied.

4. The fourth part of the document discusses the implications of the findings. It highlights the potential applications of the research in various fields and the need for further investigation in this area.

5. The fifth part of the document provides a conclusion and summarizes the key points of the study. It reiterates the importance of the research and the need for continued efforts in this field.

6. The sixth part of the document includes a list of references and a bibliography. It cites the various sources used in the research and provides a comprehensive overview of the literature in this area.

7. The seventh part of the document contains a list of appendices and supplementary materials. These include additional data, figures, and tables that provide further detail on the study.

8. The eighth part of the document includes a list of acknowledgments and a list of authors. It expresses gratitude to the individuals and organizations that supported the research and identifies the authors of the document.

9. The ninth part of the document contains a list of footnotes and a list of references. It provides additional information on the research and cites the various sources used in the study.

3. The Drafting of the Interview Schedule: September 1, 1964 to February 15, 1965.

The character and content of the interview schedule was influenced by at least five different sources: the Wahlke and Eulau study, the Kornberg interview schedule, and the interview schedule of the Dartmouth Congressional study, referred to above; Charles Clapp's The Congressman⁴; and in particular the interviews conducted by Professor Hoffman during the summer of 1964 with Canadian M.P.s.

A first draft of the interview schedule was produced in English by Hoffman, considered by Professors Meisel and Ward, and then after revision turned over to Alfrédo Levesque, who helped create a French version. There were great difficulties involved in the latter task, but the need to assure that the precise meaning of a phrase or a question was appropriately translated into another language served the useful purpose of forcing the designers of the questionnaire to reflect again on the original meaning of their questions. An intermediate draft of the English questionnaire was seen by Professor John Johnston of NORC and approved with amendments. During the first weeks of February final English and French versions were produced, checked for the strict comparability of meaning from one questionnaire to the other, and printed.

One of the persistent difficulties encountered in creating the interview schedule, apart from the translation problem, was the conflict between the need to acquire extensive information, especially when fundamental data on our political process were lacking (for example on the operations of provincial and regional caucus systems), and the need to

⁴Charles L. Clapp, The Congressman, His Work as He Sees It, (Brookings Institute, 1963).

permit intensive treatment of basic concepts by the use of an appropriate number of probing questions. In order to pursue basic questions of interest a number of other interesting possibilities had to be omitted.⁵

The optimum length of an interview was taken to be about two hours. In order to obtain all of the information that was thought desirable a decision of some consequence had to be taken at an early stage. It was decided to divide the questionnaire into three parts. The first part (Part A) was a structured interview to be conducted by a qualified interviewer, and was assumed to take roughly the whole of the two hours allotted; interviewers were asked to concentrate on the goal of completing, without undue irritation to the respondent, the whole of Part A. If the respondent was pressed for time, parts B and C were then to be left for completion at the respondent's convenience. Part B consisted of thirty statements to which the respondent was invited to indicate his agreement or disagreement by ticking off the appropriate column. Part C consisted of seventeen questions designed to supplement the biographical data on each respondent.⁶ In practice a great many interviews took longer than the expected two hours, and in the majority of cases the alternative plan was pursued: the interview was completed in one session, and Parts B and C were then left to be picked up later.

⁵Time did not permit the inclusion of questions relating to the M.P.s' awareness of and interest in domestic and foreign issues; nor could we include questions permitting the creation of an attitude scale sufficiently refined to permit us to measure the ideological orientation of Members. In the light of subsequent criticism of the irrelevance of many questions, it is probably just as well that we could not find further time or space; but information on these matters would have added greatly to our understanding of the men at the centre of the political process.

⁶See Appendix B for a copy of the questionnaire.

This particular approach was not without risks. On the one hand if we asked the respondent to complete Parts B and C of the questionnaire after a lengthy interview we ran the risk of having him refuse to do so, thus perhaps destroying the opportunities for a completed interview schedule. On the other hand we ran the risk that a respondent, although otherwise well-disposed to the study, would not find time to complete Parts B and C, leaving us in roughly the same position. Finally there was the risk of a respondent's becoming hostile to being interviewed and refusing to return the B and C Parts. Proof of this risk is to be found in the refusal rate of those who completed the first part of the interview but for whom no B or C Parts were returned.⁷

4. Training the Interviewers: February 16 to March 4, 1965

The task of interviewing a large number of members of the House of Commons was beyond the capacities of the two authors alone; it was therefore necessary to supplement their interviewing with the best available resources. The quality of the interviewing is often the weak link in studies of this kind; it is at this stage in the process that the pressures of inadequate time and money come most notably to bear. The problem in this case was more acute since it was necessary to recruit and train both English-speaking and French-speaking interviewers. Moreover the relative novelty of survey research in this country meant that there was no pool of experienced interviewers from which to draw.

As a first step Miss Judy Dibben, an M.A. student in Political Science, was recruited as a field supervisor for the interviewers. It

⁷See below for the effect of the refusal rate.

proved possible to involve Miss Dibben first in the creation of the interview schedule itself, thus allowing her to become as familiar with the purposes of the study as the authors themselves. Fourteen student interviewers were then recruited, eight English-speaking students and one French-speaking student from Carleton University, and five French-speaking students from the University of Ottawa. Nearly all of the interviewers, many of them graduate students, were studying in the social sciences; all had previous experience in interviewing. Nearly everyone had taken a course in research methods in the social sciences.

The interviewers from the two language groups were met separately, each for two intensive training sessions. At the first session the interview schedule itself was concentrated on. Careful attention was given to the wording of the questions, and indications were provided of the appropriate form of probing. At the second session attention centred on the interview schedule in relation to the entire project. Great care was taken to acquaint the interviewers with the purposes of the questionnaire, the purpose of specific questions within the questionnaire, and the relationship between one question and another. As a check on quality, interviewers were required to discuss the completed schedule with the field supervisor immediately after each interview.

5. Drawing the Sample: March 1 - 2, 1965.

When the interviewing began early in March 1965 it was still the intention of the authors to attempt to complete interviews with every member of the House of Commons. It was on this basis that a public statement to this effect was made later.⁸ Because of the uncertainty of the

⁸See Appendix C for a copy of the press release of April 13, 1965.

The first of these is the fact that the system is not a simple one, and that it is not possible to describe it in terms of a few simple parameters.

The second is the fact that the system is not a simple one, and that it is not possible to describe it in terms of a few simple parameters.

The third is the fact that the system is not a simple one, and that it is not possible to describe it in terms of a few simple parameters.

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The tenth is the fact that the system is not a simple one, and that it is not possible to describe it in terms of a few simple parameters.

The eleventh is the fact that the system is not a simple one, and that it is not possible to describe it in terms of a few simple parameters.

The twelfth is the fact that the system is not a simple one, and that it is not possible to describe it in terms of a few simple parameters.

The thirteenth is the fact that the system is not a simple one, and that it is not possible to describe it in terms of a few simple parameters.

The fourteenth is the fact that the system is not a simple one, and that it is not possible to describe it in terms of a few simple parameters.

The fifteenth is the fact that the system is not a simple one, and that it is not possible to describe it in terms of a few simple parameters.

venture, and particularly because of the possibility of an early dissolution of Parliament, a "hedge" was made against the possibility of being caught with a sample of completed interviews bearing no relationship to the composition of the House: we decided to proceed on the basis of a 50% "systematic sample"⁹ of the members of the House of Commons. M.P.s were assigned to appropriate party lists, Members being listed alphabetically within each. A sample of 50% of the total number of M.P.s was then drawn starting with the first name on the Liberal list, and taking every other name thereafter in the Liberal, Social Credit, New Democratic, Social Credit Rally, and Progressive Conservative lists (in that order). The rationale for this operation was that the first list, based on a systematic sample of M.P.s, would be completed before going on to the second list (the remaining 50%); should a dissolution of Parliament prevent a full survey of the House of Commons, then at least a systematic sample of half the membership would have been achieved.

6. Interviewing the M.P.s: March 8 to April 9, 1965.

During the first weeks of interviewing, there were seventeen interviewers in the field; the fifteen student interviewers, Miss Dibben and Professor Hoffman. Each interviewer was assigned three names, beginning at the top of the first list. Interviewers were responsible for making arrangements for their own interviews. The normal procedure was to telephone the Member at his office and through conversation with either the respondent or his secretary make arrangements for an interview at a

⁹See F.J. Stephan and P.J. McCarthy, Sampling Opinions (John Wiley & Sons, 1963), pp. 32-34, for a description of the main features of a "systematic sample".

The first part of the report discusses the current state of the world's oceans and the impact of human activities on marine ecosystems. It highlights the need for sustainable management of marine resources and the importance of international cooperation in addressing global ocean issues.

The second part of the report focuses on the specific challenges facing the world's oceans, including overfishing, pollution, and climate change. It examines the impact of these challenges on marine biodiversity and the livelihoods of coastal communities.

The third part of the report presents a series of recommendations for the sustainable management of marine resources. These recommendations include the establishment of marine protected areas, the implementation of sustainable fishing practices, and the reduction of marine pollution.

The fourth part of the report discusses the role of international organizations in addressing global ocean issues. It highlights the importance of the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS) and the need for stronger international institutions to manage the world's oceans.

The fifth part of the report presents a series of conclusions and recommendations for the future of the world's oceans. It emphasizes the need for a global approach to ocean management and the importance of involving all stakeholders in the process.

specified time and place in the M.P.'s office. Normally interviewers tried to arrange interviews with each of the three M.P.s who had been assigned to them, but interviewers were required to return to the office for appraisal of their schedules before receiving the name of a new interviewee. Thus, at any one time an interviewer was never responsible for more than three potential respondents. In this manner it was possible to keep a close check on the activities of the interviewers, and an accurate record of the progress of the interviewing through the first list. All interviewers were provided with a letter, either in English or in French, signed by Professor Meisel, supervisor of Behavioural Research. Interviewers were advised to show this letter upon entry into the respondent's office. They were also asked to assure the respondent of his anonymity in the study, confirming the letter's assurance that no statements would be attributed to specific Members.

The researchers were pleased with the early reaction to the survey. Some of the early interviews took a good deal longer than anticipated (two early interviews in French lasted six hours) but Members did not appear to object much to the length of the session.^{9A} Moreover, although the return of B and C Parts of the questionnaire was somewhat slower than anticipated, follow-up by the supervisor permitted their orderly collection. Only one set of B and C Parts was not returned during the first phase of the interviewing (i.e., up to April 2) and this was deliberate on the part of the respondent.

Not all questions in Part A of the questionnaire were equally success-

..... that even if a respondent objected to question 1, he would

^{9A}

The average length of the interviews was two hours and sixteen minutes. See Appendix D for a comparison of the length of interviews of French-speaking and English-speaking respondents.

ful.¹⁰ It was quickly clear that some M.P.s objected to question 28 (a): "Who are some of your closest friends in the House of Commons--I mean the members you most often see outside the chamber, at lunch or dinner, or at parties or social gatherings". While some M.P.s could be pressed easily to name as many as six friends (the number which interviewers had been instructed to try to get), others took offence at the question, often repeating quizzically after the question was put: "You mean you want me to name my friends?". Often the best that could be obtained from the respondent was some indication of whether his friends came from his own region, his own party, or whether his friendships knew no geographical or party limitations. While this kind of hit-and-miss experience with the responses to question 28 (a) meant that the use of sociometric techniques of analysis was not possible, we still got enough from the question to allow us to draw tentative conclusions about the friendship links in the House of Commons.¹¹

One further series of questions proved not so much offensive as ineffective. Question 31, with its several subsections, sought to discover the Member's appraisal of the party leaders in the House of Commons, and to explore his personal contacts with the leadership of the party. The results were unsatisfactory because it was clear, upon consideration of the interview protocols, that Members interpreted "party leaders" and "the leadership of (his) party" in different ways. It might have been interesting to analyse the different ways in which Members chose to interpret

¹⁰ Nor were all questions in C Part successful. The last question, inviting Members to indicate any books which had had an influence on their potential careers, was rarely answered.

¹¹
See below.

these words, but even this venture is fraught with interpretive difficulties. One part of the question-- "Are there any particular ministers in the government to whom you naturally turn for information, advice and assistance" -- was a good deal more successful, and respondents' replies to this were coded and analysed.

Apart from these two minor problems, the survey had proceeded at least as well as expected until the morning of April 2, 1965. It is true that not every interviewer had been able to report a completely friendly reception and interview: one interviewer reported early in the survey that her respondent had been quite co-operative at first but had become increasingly hostile during the three hour interview; another reported that she thought that her respondent continued with the interview out of a sense of duty, "especially as it was going to be asked of all M.P.s"; yet another found her respondent reluctant to grant an interview at first, but reported that the interview itself went very well thereafter, allowing a completed questionnaire in one hour and 30 minutes.

Nor had every attempt to secure an interview succeeded. As of the morning of April 2, 1965, eight attempts to interview Members had failed: Six of these were of the nature of outright refusals to participate in an interview; one resulted from the Member's refusal to continue the interview after the opening stages had commenced; one was of the "not available" variety, repeated attempts to interview the respondent being frustrated by the Member's continuing illness. But it is important to note, in view of the events which followed, that 61 successful interviews had been completed at this point, 42 with English-speaking M.P.s and 19 with French-speaking. Although refusals were certainly concentrated within the

English-speaking membership of the Conservative party (one French-speaking M.P. had also refused at this point) there was no indication of a sharp intensification of the refusal rate as the interviewing proceeded.

The experience of the first three weeks of interviewing thus revealed a mixed reaction to the survey; the vast majority of M.P.s approached for interviews co-operated well; a minority refused to participate, and a still smaller minority participated but revealed some hostility to our efforts. That the vast majority did indeed co-operate with the survey is revealed by the following statistics, drawn from interviewers' post-interview assessments of the degree of respondents' co-operation and frankness.

Table 3.1

Interviewers' Ratings of Respondents -
March 8 - April 2 (absolute numbers)

<u>Cooperation</u>	<u>English R's</u>	<u>French R's</u>	<u>Total</u>	
very co-operative	24	11	35	} 91.1%
co-operative	14	6	20	
not very co-operative	2	1	3	
openly hostile	1*	1***	2	
no answer	1**		1	
<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	
N	42	19	61	
 <u>Frankness</u>				
very frank	19	11	30	} 86.9%
frank	16	7	23	
not very frank	6	-	6	
no answer	1	1	2	
<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	
N	42	19	61	

* only on some questions

** incomplete interview

*** "aggressive"

Even if one does not wish to make much of interviewers' assessments of the respondents' frankness, it is nevertheless clear that interviewers considered themselves well-received by their respondents.¹²

It remains, however, to explore as far as we can the feelings of those who refused interviews. The following extract from a report by one of the interviewers on the interview which was broken off almost before it began (counted here as a refusal) may be useful as an indication of the reasons which may have led some Members to refuse an interview and others to become hostile.

On 19th March I telephoned Mr. X to ask for an interview. He said he didn't know if he would be much help. I explained that the interview was being given by all M.P.s and it was not a case of some being more helpful than others. He said he would have to see the interview first so that he would ascertain if he would be "useful". He asked me to call back the following week to make an appointment.

On 22nd March I telephoned Mr. X. He said "alright" to the interview--no mention of wanting to see it first. Appointment made for 23rd March.

On 23rd March went for interview--I handed Mr. X the letter establishing my identity and he said he was wondering when I would do that. Appeared fairly satisfied, said I could start questions. At first question on how he entered public life he became agitated, saying that that/^{was}no question for the B & B Commission to be asking, and said it did not come within its terms of reference. He went on to say that I was subjecting him to a "package deal", i.e. that he was being asked to commit himself to answer questions without knowing their content and demanded to see the interview schedule. I tried to assure him of anonymity, and of the fact that background data was being collected on all M.P.s to facilitate comparisons between them, particularly between English and French-speaking M.P.s. He found this "explanation" quite untenable.

(Interviewer then gave Mr. X a copy of the interview schedule which X read out aloud to himself). Having done this he told me that there was "nothing" in it about bilingualism and biculturalism and he completely refused to answer the other questions which were

¹²See Appendix E for ratings of "post-crisis" interviews.

quite beyond the scope of the B. & B. Commission.¹³

His sole comment on the problems of bilingualism and biculturalism: there was no problem; M.P.s all got on together. They did not come to Parliament as provincial spokesmen.

7. The "Crisis": April 2 to April 15, 1965

On April 2 the survey of attitudes of Members of the House of Commons became both the subject of questions in the House and the object of a good deal of national publicity. The following is the text, taken from Hansard, of the questions posed in the House of Commons by Mr. Nicholas Mandziuk, M.P. for Marquette, and Mr. S.J. Korchinski, M.P. for Mackenzie.

Mr. Nicholas Mandziuk (Marquette): I wish to address my question to the Prime Minister and ask him whether he is aware that the commission on biculturalism and bilingualism, through its representatives is making a psychoanalytical survey of certain members of parliament.

An Hon. Member: What a task.

Mr. Knowles: Somebody should.

Right Hon. L.B. Pearson (Prime Minister): This very important matter has not yet been brought to my attention. I would hope that if the commission feels inclined to do this it would not make any exceptions.

Some Hon. Members: Oh, oh.

Mr. Mandziuk: In order to arouse the curiosity of the right hon. gentleman I would ask him, as a supplementary question, to tell us of what benefit it would be to the B. & B. Commission in carrying out its terms of reference to receive answers from members to questions or statements as "politics is a dirty game". Members are asked to comment on questions such as that. Is this within the terms of reference of the commission?

¹³One French-speaking interviewer made the following comment following her successfully completed interview: "L'interview terminée, il m'a dit qu'il trouve le questionnaire trop long, et s'étend de peu de questions se rapportant selon lui au bilinguisme et au biculturalisme."

Mr. S.J. Korchinski (Mackenzie): A supplementary question, Mr. Speaker.

Mr. Speaker: I do not see how any supplementary could arise from the original question, which was more in the nature of a statement, or allegation.

Mr. Korchinski: If it is not a supplementary, Mr. Speaker, it is a related matter. I want to ask the Prime Minister whether he would not put a stop to the questioning of members by the B. and B. commission on political matters; such statements as "the local party organization has had very little to do with getting me elected". This is in no way connected, even remotely, with the subject matter under study and is a burden on the taxpayer, though it may be of assistance to Liberal headquarters.

Mr. Harold E. Winch (Vancouver East): In view of these questions and answers may I ask the Prime Minister for the name of the psychiatrist on the B. and B. Commission.¹⁴

It is clear from this exchange that the objection to the study (i.e. the irrelevance to the terms of reference of the Commission of a good deal of the questionnaire) which we had noted from the interviewer's report of an earlier refusal, was shared by others. Far more serious from our point of view in many ways was the suggestion of which we were aware, but which was not recorded in print, that the anonymity of the interviews was open to question, and in particular that the subject matter under study might be of special assistance to the Liberal party.

To the researchers, concerned as they were that unfavourable publicity might damage the project irreparably, it seemed that the news media devoted a great deal of attention to the story. In the first wave of news stories, it is true, the majority of the English language press and all of the French language press contented themselves with

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Canada, Official Report of Debates, House of Commons, Volume 109, No. 248, April 2, 1965, pp. 13080-1.

carrying the Canadian Press dispatch; none of the major dailies in the Maritimes carried the story. The C.P. dispatch made three main points. It suggested that M.P.s were critical of the Royal Commission's overstepping its bounds by "grilling" many members on issues which were "purely political" and outside the Commission's terms of reference; it reprinted a number of the specific statements of the B Part of the questionnaire, giving pride of place to the quotation, "politics is a dirty game"; and it linked M.P.s' critical comments on our survey with Mr. William Skoreyeko's observation in the House of Commons that lower ranks in the armed forces were being told that they would not be promoted unless they were bilingual. The major differences between the C.P. dispatch and later independent reports were that the latter tended to reprint more (often all) of the 30 statements from Part B of the questionnaire, but did not link the criticism of the survey with questions relating to bilingualism in the armed forces. One report also stated that "Lately, it is said many have been refusing to talk at all."¹⁵

Messrs. Mandziuk and Korchinski had asked their questions in the House of Commons on a Friday morning. A small number of interviews had been scheduled for the following week; we were therefore anxious to learn what effect the publicity would have on our potential respondents. To this end interviewers were asked to record all reactions, and especially to watch for indications of the M.P.s' prior knowledge of the questionnaire or even the existence of more-or-less set responses to some of the questions.

¹⁵"M.P.s Want Off Quiz Kid's Couch", The London Free Press, Saturday, April 3, 1965.

During the next week there were only six completed interviews, five with English-speaking M.P.s and one with a French-speaking M.P. There were no new refusals to permit interviews, but then few new approaches were made during this week. One Member who had permitted an interview now refused to return his B and C parts of the questionnaire.

The interviewers reports and ratings on five¹⁶ of the six completed interviews are interesting:

1. April 5; $3\frac{1}{2}$ hours; frank and very co-operative; [no indication of prior knowledge of questionnaire].
2. April 5; 1 hour; not very frank, co-operative. Don't think he had seen Part A or B before. Had talked about it--said on phone that he didn't want to be psychoanalysed. When he finished Part A he asked where the question "Politics is a dirty game" came in. Didn't want to answer Part B, said we could get it from Part A... but did do Part C.
3. April 7, $2\frac{3}{4}$ hours; very frank; very co-operative. Didn't let on he knew anything about schedule.
4. April 7, $2\frac{1}{2}$ hours; very frank; very co-operative. Very fleeting impression that he had seen questionnaire before and thought about answers--e.g. question 25, re House of Commons and limitation of debates. (B and C Parts later refused.)
5. April 9, $1\frac{3}{4}$ hours (but at least $\frac{1}{4}$ hour taken up with views on B/B Commission and questionnaire); not very frank; not very co-operative. General note: interview was difficult (getting some answers was like pulling teeth!) because (a) Respondent was hostile (b) suspect he was slightly deaf--or perhaps found my accent difficult (Interviewer was British), 2) had never thought in general philosophical terms. Had not seen questionnaire before.

Although the notoriety achieved by the study had obviously affected

¹⁶Unfortunately no comments were recorded for the one interview with a French-speaking M.P.; apparently there were no difficulties encountered.

being asked of M.P.s. This the Prime Minister agreed to do.

When he returned to the matter the following Monday, Mr. Pearson disregarded his previous explanation of the purpose and nature of the questionnaire: he admitted being reluctant to tell the Commission how to follow up its terms of reference, but he confessed that in his opinion "many of the questions [were] irrelevant and some highly inappropriate".¹⁹ If he were asked to answer the questionnaire in its existing form, he would not. By implication, at least, Mr. Pearson went even further; in answer to Mr. Mandziuk's query as to whether the survey would be continued, the Prime Minister, replied in terms that were interpreted²⁰ as negative:

Mr. Speaker, I do not wish to interfere improperly with the business of a Royal Commission, but I would think, after reviewing what was said earlier this morning in the House of Commons, that the Royal Commission might wish to have another look at this questionnaire.²¹

The press, which had all but ignored the Prime Minister's statement

¹⁹

Ibid., Volume 110, Number 6, April 12, 1965, p. 217.

²⁰

See "Pearson Stops Survey of M.P.s", Globe and Mail, April 13, 1965. The Kingston Whig-Standard's editorial, "The Parliamentary Questionnaire", on April 15, 1965, began with the following sentence: "Prime Minister Pearson was probably wise to have requested the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism to drop its controversial survey of Members of Parliament". (Our italics). Le Devoir's article on 13 April, bore the following title: "Pearson Demande à la Commission de Retirer son Questionnaire Destiné aux Députés".

²¹

Canada, Official Report of Debates, House of Commons, Vol. 110, Number 6, April 12, 1965, p. 217.

on the previous Friday,²² responded with greater interest to his fresh observations on the subject of the questionnaire. But it was the Commissioners' press release on the following day which attracted the most attention from the press, even drawing editorials from many newspapers.

The Commission, having decided to allow the study of M.P.s to proceed, defended it against criticism, which it stated arose "from a misunderstanding of the nature of the survey".²³ After explaining the purposes of the questionnaire, the statement noted the confidential character of the replies and emphasized the right of any Member interviewed to refuse to answer any particular question. The Commissioners asserted their intention to allow the study to continue, unless the refusal rate became too high, and urged that the Commission "should not be hampered or blocked as it endeavours to fulfill the purpose for which it was established." The strength of the Commission's statement, coming so hard on the heels of the Prime Minister's statement, provoked hostile comments from many newspapers, several of which seemed pleased to have another reason for criticizing the Royal Commission. The majority of the hostile editorials focussed on the "impertinence" and "irrelevance" of the questionnaire (usually referring only to Part B, without acknowledging its proper context)

²² Only the Globe and Mail carried a report of the Prime Minister's statement on the question and his exchange with Mr. Diefenbaker in the House on April 19, 1965. The Toronto newspaper also carried extracts from question period in its page 7 feature, "Parliament".

²³ See press release, appendix C.

and mentioned at some point the great cost to the Canadian taxpayer of the money already spent by the Commission.

Typically, among hostile editorials, there was no appreciation of the fact that the study attempted to discover the attitudes²⁴ of Canadian M.P.s on a number of matters related to their jobs; the apparent failure to understand that the analysis of differences in attitudes was indeed relevant to the purposes of the Commission led many editorialists into gross distortion of the nature and purpose of the study. In all this there was at least variety: to the editorial writer of the Hamilton Spectator Messrs. Laurendeau and Dunton personally were "authors of an irrelevant and silly list of questions";²⁵ to his counterpart on the Leduc Representative the questionnaire appeared "to have been drawn up by beatniks for the interrogation of morons".²⁶

²⁴ The repeated characterization of the thirty statements of Part B of the questionnaire, on which respondents have five choices of reply, as questions (which were to be answered as "true" or "false") led to very great confusion. The following is perhaps the best example we have: "One so-called question sounds more like a flat statement: 'The way an M.P. votes is always a true indication of the way he feels.' Patently misleading and mischievously ignoring the machinery of voting which involves toeing party lines and obeying party whips, the question seems to invite the M.P. to agree only in order to be labelled a liar." "Trick Questions have no place in B and B Inquiry", Quebec Chronicle-Telegraph, April 15, 1965.

²⁵ "Simple Courtesy Costs Nothing", Hamilton Spectator, April 15, 1965.

²⁶ "Impertinent Questions", Leduc Representative (Alberta), April 29, 1965. The editorial in the Ottawa Journal, while somewhat less vigorous in language, was no less striking: "The Commission then let some social scientists draft a gaggle of questions, leaving it to the scientists to judge what was a proper question." "B and B Wrong and Right", Ottawa Journal, April 15, 1965.

Implicit in many editorials was the suggestion that to ask M.P.s about their job, to question them on their attitudes on public issues, was somehow a violation of the privileges and prerogatives of the Member of Parliament. This line of argument was put most explicitly in the Peterborough Examiner:

The Members of Parliament are right to be jealous of their prerogatives. The House of Commons is the supreme legislative body in the Dominion (save for the British North American Act [sic]) and cannot be subject to the scrutiny of any but its members and the electorate itself. Once permit these privileges to be diluted by a Royal Commission ... and a significant constitutional shift has been undertaken.²⁷

The Nanaimo Free Press took the last point to its reductio ad absurdum:

The House of Commons should be careful to maintain its position. It would be startling if a second interim report of the Bi-Bi Commission recommended that the country get along without the lower branch of parliament. After all, Charles the First²⁸ governed without parliament before he lost his head altogether.

Editorial comments critical of the survey outnumbered those supporting the research into the attitudes of Members of Parliament; but it is not without some significance that the critical comment came, by and large, from the smaller circulation newspapers of the country.²⁹ The Montreal Gazette, the Globe and Mail, the Telegram, the Toronto Star,

²⁷

"A Question of Propriety", Peterborough Examiner, April 15, 1965.

²⁸

"Perhaps House of Commons Should Probe B-B Body", Nanaimo Free Press, B.C., May 20, 1965.

²⁹

See Appendix F for a list of hostile and supporting newspapers.

Le Devoir, La Presse, the Ottawa Citizen and the Winnipeg Free Press generally showed a good understanding of the nature and purposes of the study and offered qualified (sometimes unqualified) support for the project.

Desmond Sparham, in an "Opinion" column in the Toronto Star, showed a clear grasp of our rationale of the questionnaire:

How can the commission fulfill its prescribed duty to recommend measures "to develop the Canadian Confederation" unless it conducts the most searching inquiries into the political outlook of the people and into their attitudes towards all the major institutions of society?

And are not our M.P.s the very people whose attitudes matter most? Are they not the very people who will have to implement or reject the commission's findings?³⁰

An editorial in La Presse took a similar line:

Le probleme du bilinguisme n'est pas seulement le probleme de l'homme de la rue que la television interroge. C'est aussi, et principalement, celui des Canadiens qui siegent au parlement du Canada.³¹

The Globe and Mail's editorial, which sharply criticized the Prime Minister's "dangerous invasion" of the integrity of the Commission, ended with:

Opposition Leader John Diefenbaker calls it snooping. If it is, then Parliament must simply face the truth that it has given the commission a general license to snoop. And having done

³⁰ Desmond Sparham, "Why Shouldn't Bi-Bi Ask the M.P.s those 30 Questions"?, Toronto Star, May 6, 1965.

³¹ Guy Cormier, "Ces Messieurs Se Rebiffent", La Presse, April 15, 1965.

so, parliamentarians, least of all those in the Government, have no right to claim special immunity. They must either call the whole thing off, or submit to examination with the rest of the country.³²

Mr. Pearson's only public comment on the Commission's press release was interpreted by Arthur Blakely as "a backing away from an open clash with the co-chairmen". "The Commission, like any other royal commission, is the judge of its procedure within the terms of reference", the Prime Minister's statement said. "I have made known in the Commons ... my own views on the point at issue."³³

Although the Commission had affirmed that "as long as a high response rate continues, the interviews will go on unchanged", it clearly became necessary to make a careful reappraisal of the survey. Many newspapers called for an end to the project (or even the Commission); but even if the project were not cancelled by a formal act, there was still a very good possibility that the project might be finished. The Prime Minister's assertion that some questions in the interview schedule were irrelevant and inappropriate certainly raised the prospect of a good deal of resistance on the part of Members to further interviewing, especially within the Liberal party, which up to this point had not been reluctant to co-operate with the survey. It appeared that steps had to be taken to maximize the chances of completing the study.

³²"A Dangerous Invasion by the Prime Minister", Globe and Mail, April 14, 1965.

³³"Pearson Backs Away From Clash Over B-B Inquiry", Montreal Gazette, April 15, 1965.

8. Reappraising the Project: April 15, 1965.

At a meeting on April 15, 1965, it was decided that the student interviewers would be removed from the job and that henceforth only Professors Hoffman and Ward would interview M.P.s until such time as it was deemed appropriate for a few of the most experienced interviewers to return. There was no evidence that the hostility to the survey could justifiably be traced to the actions of the student interviewers, but in the new circumstances it seemed essential to make every effort to ensure the seriousness and the secrecy of the project in the eyes of the Members of Parliament. As a result of this decision another important one followed. When it was clear that the rest of the interviewing would have to be done by a limited team of interviewers, the decision was made to proceed on the basis of a stratified sample of the back bench membership of the House of Commons.

It must be recalled that this important decision was taken after the Commons's session of Monday, April 12, at which the Prime Minister's statement criticising the questionnaire was made, and before the House of Commons reassembled after the Easter recess. Everyone present at the meeting was concerned that the refusal rate of the remaining Members might rise after the vacation in some kind of cumulative reaction to the study.³⁴ There was also the prospect of an early dissolution of

³⁴ In the last minutes of the session on Tuesday, April 13, just before the recess for the vacation, Mr. Herridge rose on a matter of privilege. Referring to the Commission's press release defending the study against interference, the member stated, with the apparent approval (according to the press) of Members on both sides of the House; "...I think that this is a gross piece of impertinence with regard to the Prime Minister of our country and his efforts to protect the rights of Members of Parliament of all parties and his efforts to protect their privileges and their privacy." Canada, Official Report of Debates, House of Commons, Volume 110, Number 7, April 13, 1965, p. 383.

Parliament, which had been talked about incessantly, and which would have brought the study to a premature end. Speed was essential; and if only the senior interviewers were to conduct the interviews (at least long enough to judge reactions) they would have to set themselves a target more realistic than the entire House of Commons.

Why, it might be asked, a stratified sample of back bench M.P.s? Let us take first the decision not to interview, at least for a while, the front benchers and party leaders. Although it was always thought that there were many respects in which it would be appropriate to interview party leaders and front benchers specifically with regard to their role as M.P.s, it was also taken for granted that there were some questions which were put to back benchers which would not be appropriate for front benchers, especially members of the Cabinet.³⁵ At this time, however, an amended interview schedule, suitable for front benchers, had not yet been created. Moreover, since it was assumed that interviews with front benchers should properly be conducted only by Ward and Hoffman, and since the senior interviewers were also committed to interviewing back benchers after their return from the Easter vacation, it was evident that the latter task was as much as could be managed in the short run. Besides, it was not unreasonable to assume that if a choice had to be made between interviewing front benchers or back benchers, the prospect of arranging interviews with front benchers (especially Cabinet Ministers) after the recess or dissolution of Parliament seemed the more likely.

The idea of using a stratified sample of the back bench M.P.s followed from the realization that it would probably prove extremely

³⁵The questions marked with an asterisk in the questionnaire set out in Appendix B were omitted in the questionnaire later produced specifically for front benchers.

1. The first part of the document discusses the importance of maintaining accurate records of all transactions and activities. It emphasizes that this is essential for ensuring transparency and accountability in the organization's operations.

2. The second part outlines the various methods and tools used to collect and analyze data. It mentions the use of both traditional and modern technologies to gather information from different sources.

3. The third part describes the process of reviewing and verifying the collected data. It highlights the need for thorough checks to ensure that the information is reliable and free from errors.

4. The fourth part discusses the importance of regular communication and reporting. It states that keeping stakeholders informed about the progress and findings is crucial for the success of the project.

5. The fifth part concludes by summarizing the key points and reiterating the commitment to high standards of accuracy and transparency throughout the entire process.

unlikely that the entire membership of the House could be interviewed in the remaining time. The 50 per cent "systematic sample" had been chosen originally as the simplest means of insuring against a badly balanced result caused by incomplete interviewing of the entire list of M.P.s. But this sample was now of little use in one important respect: it included the names of front benchers as well as back benchers, and front benchers were now to be excluded. If a new sample was to be drawn, then it seemed worthwhile to assure that with regard to the four major variables which we wanted to use in our analysis- (-urban/rural location of the M.P.'s constituency, party, language, and region-) the back bench M.P.s selected for interviewing should represent as closely as possible their appropriate share of the entire back bench membership.

9. Drawing a Stratified Sample: April 19 to 24, 1965.

As a first step in drawing our sample the back bench membership of the House was defined by the removal from the list of 265 Members of 42 M.P.s who for our purposes were designated "front bench."

Table 3.2

The "Front Bench"³⁶

P.M. and Cabinet Ministers	24
Chief Liberal Whip	1
Opposition Leaders	4
Conservative Front Bench (including Whip)	12
Speaker	<u>1</u>
TOTAL	42

³⁶The membership of the House in April, 1965 was taken as the basis of drawing the sample. Former Cabinet ministers who returned to the back benches were now counted as back benchers. Subsequent promotions to the front bench (e.g. Cabinet changes of summer, 1965) are not, however, taken into account.

A figure of roughly two-thirds of the remaining 223 back benchers was taken as the basis for the stratified sample. Any back bench M.P. who had been selected by the previous process of systematic sampling and who had already been interviewed or had been approached for an interview (refusals included) became the "core" for the new sample list. New names were then added to the sample list in such a way as to assure that within each of the four major variables the appropriate weighting was achieved. New names were selected randomly within the strata. Thus, for example, if the result of placing the "core" within the new requirements were to produce a result in which the number of rural members was already almost equivalent to two-thirds of the entire back bench membership, then the bulk of the additional names added to the list had to be drawn at random proportionately from the urban members in the remaining list, always having regard, of course, to the other variables as well.

Because there were four major variables to consider, it did not prove possible to select a sample which gave absolute equality to every major variable. In order to counteract the slight over-representation of rural, French-speaking M.P.s from Quebec when the "core" was taken as the basis on which to build the stratified sample it would have been necessary to increase, somewhat, the appropriate proportion of urban French-speaking M.P.s from Quebec, thus setting off a new round of inequalities between Quebec and the other regions. The problem was also acute when attempting to obtain rough equality, at 2/3 the total number between the minor parties. The general effect has been slightly to under-represent the minor parties. The process of adding names to the list was stopped once rough equality was reached within each major "cell". The end result was a sample of 143

names, constituting 64 per cent of the total back bench membership.

STRATIFIED SAMPLE OF BACK BENCHERS ANALYSED BY REGION, BILINGUAL
ORIENTATION, PARTY, AND URBAN/RURAL LOCATION OF M.P.'S CONSTITUENCY

Table 3.3 - Region

<u>Region</u>	<u>Total no. of back benchers</u>	<u>Total no. of sample</u>	<u>Sample as % of total (horizontal)</u>
B.C. & Yukon	20	13	65.0
Prairies & N.W.T.	41	25	60.0
Ontario	72	47	65.3
Quebec	64	40	62.5
Maritimes	<u>26</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>69.2</u>
TOTAL	223	143	64.1

Table 3.4 - Bilingual Orientation

English-speaking	161	104	64.5
French-speaking	<u>62</u>	<u>39</u>	<u>63.8</u>
TOTAL	223	143	64.1

Table 3.5 - Party

Liberals	103	69	67.0
Progressive Conservatives	81	52	62.2
New Democratic Party	17	9	52.9
Social Credit Party	8	5	62.5
Social Credit Rally	12	7	58.3
Independents	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>50.0</u>
	223	143	64.1

Table 3.6 - Urban/Rural Location of M.P.s Constituency

	<u>Total No. of back benchers</u>	<u>Total no. of sample</u>	<u>Sample as % of total (horizontal)</u>
Rural (less than 25% urban)	81	50	61.7
Mixed Urban/Rural (25-75% urban)	69	46	66.6
Urban (75-100% urban)	73	47	64.4
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
Total	223	143	64.1

10. Completing the Interviews with Back Benchers: April 26 to June 30, 1965.

When the M.P.s returned to Ottawa on April 26 to resume the third session of the 26th Parliament, 67 respondents remained to be interviewed from the new sample.³⁷ Professors Ward and Hoffman set about immediately to interview as many M.P.s as possible, anxious to discover post-holiday reactions to the project. Essentially the reception was little different from the days before the controversy had arisen. A few Liberals and one Cr ditiste now joined the Conservatives among the ranks of the "refusals", but the rate at which refusals were received was not much higher than before.

One Liberal M.P. approached for an interview stated that he granted the interview quickly because of the Tory opposition, which he thought was "stupid"; he also said that he couldn't understand why the Prime Minister made "that statement". Another confided that he had found "no interest

³⁷ As of April 13, the date of the press release, there had been 67 successfully completed interviews and 8 refusals. During the holidays one further interview was completed, thus leaving a further 67 M.P.s to be interviewed.

in or reaction to the questionnaire in his riding"; "the people didn't really know about it". Another Liberal revealed that he had completed Parts B and C of the questionnaire when we had called for it before the recess, but after the Prime Minister's statement had decided to hold on to it. After thinking about it, however, the respondent had decided to return his questionnaire--"It doesn't bother me a bit", he said. As was the case before the questions had been asked in the House, some of the M.P.s interviewed after the recess were opposed to the work of the Commission, but nevertheless agreed to cooperate fully with the survey (often using some of the questions as a means of indicating the source of their irritation with the entire bilingual-bicultural question under study).

Both senior interviewers agreed that there was no indication that M.P.s were aware of the contents of Part A of the questionnaire: there was no evidence of anticipation or of the offering of set responses. Moreover, M.P.s who granted interviews seemed just as frank and cooperative as those who had participated before the "crisis", and appeared just as prepared to grant a lengthy interview.³⁸

Because M.P.s' reactions were not notably more hostile to the study than earlier and because the early dissolution of the House loomed as a daily threat to the successful completion of our project, we decided to put three of the earlier interviewers, Miss Dibben, Mrs. White and M. Raymond, back on the job within the first week. Unfortunately, we were now understaffed with French-speaking interviewers, and additional interviewers had

³⁸ See Appendix E for a comparison of the interviewers' ratings of the receptiveness of respondents, before and after the "crisis".

to be recruited. This problem was solved by bringing in one interviewer drawn from the Commission staff and another, M. Bélanger, a lecturer at Laval University, who was to obtain some experience in interviewing back benchers before going on to assist with front bench interviews.

As the bulk of the remaining respondents were approached refusals were, of course, received. Some of the "refusals" after the recess were simply never available for an interview: rather than refuse to participate they always found good reasons for not being available, even when as many as five call-backs were made. Others made their refusals quite explicit: One French-speaking Quebec M.P. refused an interview rather abruptly with the comment that he could "do a better job in the House than he could in an interview"; another refusal, a Conservative, called the Commission a "terrific waste of time:", and indicated firmly that he wanted "no part of it"; still another M.P. refused to be interviewed because he thought that "it would not accomplish very much".

Unfortunately, we also encountered an additional form of refusal to cooperate with the survey. It may be recalled that before the recess one M.P. who had completed an interview with us had refused to complete B and C parts of the questionnaire. During the second phase of the interviewing this practice intensified somewhat, with the result that ten further refusals of this kind were recorded; two of the "refusals" were not outright statements of unwillingness to return the B and C parts, but rather took the form of the respondents' apparent inability to find sufficient time to complete the questionnaires.

We continued to try to arrange interviews with the few "Not Available" right up to the summer recess on June 30. At this time we had managed to approach for an interview every one of the 143 M.P.s appearing

in the stratified sample and had succeeded in interviewing 85.3% of this total. The following table summarizes the results for the entire back bench sample:

Table 3.7

Completed, Incompleted and Refused Interviews
With Back Bench M.P.'s in Stratified Sample (Part A Only)

		<u>% of sample</u>	<u>% of total back benchers interviewed</u>
Interviews completed	120	83.9	53.8
		85.3	
Interviews incomplete	2	1.4	0.9
Interviews refused	17	11.8	
		14.6	
Not available	4	2.8	
<hr/>			
Total	143	99.9	

The bulk of the data which we wished to analyse concerning M.P.s' perceptions of their roles and the ways in which they go about performing their roles, as well as the major part of material relating to their reactions to the bilingual-bicultural phenomena of federal politics are contained in Part A of the questionnaire. Just under 15 per cent of the sample refused to provide us with information of this kind. But with regard to Part B of the questionnaire,³⁹ where further attitudes were sought, additional refusals must be taken into account.

³⁹ The loss of Part C as well (in all but one case) is not so serious, since most of the biographical data sought could be obtained from other sources.

Table 3.8

Completed and Refused Responses to Part B of the
Questionnaire (Stratified Sample of Backbenchers)

	<u>number</u>	<u>% of sample</u>	<u>% of total backbenchers</u>
Completed Part B	109	76.2	48.9
Incompleted Part B			
Refused or not available for interview	21		
	34	23.8	
Refused to interview Part B	11		
Incompleted Parts A & B	2		

When evaluating the results of the analysis drawn from Part B of the questionnaire it will have to be remembered that we are dealing with responses from just over 75 per cent of the stratified sample, representing just under half the total number of back bench M.P.s.

Compared with the refusal rate in the Wahlke and Eulau study and the Kornberg study, our refusal rate is rather high.⁴⁰ What is more serious, however, is that the refusal rate in our study (and this applies to the refusal rate for Part A as well as Part B) is not spread evenly throughout the sample. Unfortunately it is rather heavily concentrated within the Conservative party, particularly within the rural Prairie membership of the party. The English-speaking membership of the House of

⁴⁰ Only 6 per cent of the sample in the Wahlke and Eulau study was not interviewed.

Commons is therefore under-represented as compared with the French-speaking membership.

In order to indicate fully the effect of the differential refusal rate, we set out below first the effect of refusals on the data drawn from Part A and secondly the effect of the refusals on data drawn from Part B.

REFUSALS OR NOT AVAILABLE (PART A OF QUESTIONNAIRE)

Table 3.9

<u>Region</u>	<u>No. in Sample</u>	<u>No. of Refusals</u>	<u>% of Sample inter- viewed (horizontal)</u>
B.C. & Yukon	13	2	84.6
Prairies & N.W.T.	25	6	76.0
Ontario	47	7	85.0
Québec	40	4	90.0
Maritimes	<u>18</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>99.9</u>
Total	143	21	85.3

Table 3.10 Bilingual Orientation

English speaking	104	18	82.7
French speaking	39	3	92.3
<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	143	21	85.3

1. The first part of the document discusses the importance of maintaining accurate records of all transactions. It emphasizes that proper record-keeping is essential for the integrity of the financial system and for the ability to detect and prevent fraud.

2. The second part of the document outlines the specific procedures for recording transactions. It details the steps involved in the accounting cycle, from identifying the transaction to posting it to the appropriate ledger account.

Table 1: Sample Transaction Data			
Date	Description	Debit	Credit
1/1/2024	Opening Balance		1000.00
1/5/2024	Revenue from Sales		250.00
1/10/2024	Payment to Suppliers	150.00	
1/15/2024	Salary Payments	300.00	
1/20/2024	Interest Income		50.00
1/25/2024	Dividend Income		75.00
1/30/2024	Closing Balance		1000.00

3. The third part of the document discusses the importance of reconciling accounts. It explains how regular reconciliation helps to ensure that the recorded transactions match the actual transactions, thereby maintaining the accuracy of the financial statements.

4. The final part of the document provides a summary of the key points discussed. It reiterates the importance of accurate record-keeping, proper accounting procedures, and regular reconciliation for the overall health and transparency of the financial system.

Table 3.11

<u>Party</u>	<u>No. in Sample</u>	<u>No. of Refusals</u>	<u>% of Sample inter- viewed (horizontal)</u>
Liberals	69	6	91.3
Progressive Con- servatives	52	14	73.0
New Democratic Party	9	0	100.0
Social Credit	5	0	100.0
Social Credit Rally	7	1	85.7
Independents	1	0	100.0
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
Total	143	21	85.3

Table 3.12 Urban/Rural Location of M.P.'s Constituency

Rural (less than 25% urban)	50	8	84.0
Mixed Urban/Rural (25%-75% urban)	46	4	91.3
Urban (75%-100% urban)	47	9	80.7
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
Total	143	21	85.3

REFUSALS (PART B OF QUESTIONNAIRE)

Table 3.13

<u>Region</u>			
B.C. & Yukon	13	2	84.6
Prairies & N.W.T.	25	12	52.0
Ontario	47	11	76.6
Quebec	40	6	85.0
Maritimes	<u>18</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>83.3</u>
Total	143	34	76.2

Table 3.14 Bilingual Orientation

	<u>No. in Sample</u>	<u>No. of Refusals</u>	<u>% of Sample inter- viewed (horizontal)</u>
English speaking	104	29	72.1
French speaking	<u>39</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>87.2</u>
Total	143	34	76.2

Table 3.15

<u>Party</u>			
Liberals	69	10	85.5
Progressive Con- servatives	52	23	55.7
New Democratic Party	9	0	100.0
Social Credit	5	0	100.0
Social Credit Rally	7	1	85.7
Independents	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>100.0</u>
Total	143	34	76.2

Table 3.16 Urban/Rural Location of M.P.'s Constituency

Rural (less than 25% urban)	50	15	60.0
Mixed Urban/Rural (25-75% urban)	46	7	84.8
Urban (75-100% urban)	<u>47</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>74.4</u>
Total	143	34	76.2

Because of the high proportion of refusals of B Part of the questionnaire, not only from Prairie Conservatives but also from M.P.s from rural constituencies, extreme caution must be employed in interpreting the results.

11. Interviewing the Front Benchers - June 1 to September 3, 1965.

Once the authors had tested the reactions of M.P.s and had judged that some of our original interviewers could return to the job the possibility presented itself of completing interviews with the front bench M.P.s we had earlier removed to a separate list. It was decided not to try for interviews with the five party leaders, thus leaving 37 M.P.s for the "senior interviewers".⁴¹ Part A of the new interview schedule was created,⁴² mainly by the omission of questions deemed unsuitable for front benchers; but the same Parts B and C were used for front benchers as had been used for back benchers.

In order to establish an interview with the 36 front benchers and the Speaker the interviewer responsible sent letters to his respondents, acquainting them with the purposes of the study and, in the case of cabinet ministers, assuring them that "the focus of attention would be on [his] role as an M.P. rather than as a cabinet minister".⁴³ The letters also suggested that interviewers would telephone the M.P.s' secretaries within a few days to fix a suitable time and date. Letters were sent out roughly weekly in waves of five to attempt to assure an appropriate spacing of appointments.

Spacing appointments, as it turned out, proved a minor problem;

⁴¹The English-speaking front benchers were interviewed by Professors Ward, Hoffman and Smith. Dr. David Smith, a colleague of Professor Ward, substituted for the latter in one interview. The French-speaking front benchers were interviewed by André Bélanger.

⁴²See Appendix B.

⁴³See Appendix G for the English version of the letter sent to front benchers.

securing appointments was considerably more difficult. Although we continued to try to arrange for interviews up to the dissolution of Parliament in September we succeeded in interviewing only 19 of the 37 respondents sought.

The reaction of the Conservative front benchers was interesting. This time we had somewhat better success than we had had with the back benchers; at least the proportion of Conservative front benchers interviewed was slightly larger than the proportion of Liberals interviewed. But a number of interviews with Liberal front benchers were unobtainable quite clearly because of the unavailability of the busy minister concerned.⁴⁴ Others, we are certain, used prior commitments as a means of polite refusal. Except in those cases in which we got outright refusals from Liberal front benchers, however, we cannot say with absolute certainty that our failure to interview constituted a refusal on the part of the minister. With Conservatives the reaction was different; Conservative front benchers on the whole either agreed quickly to be interviewed or refused just as quickly in no uncertain terms.

One Conservative front bencher used the attempt to arrange an interview as an opportunity to scold us and the Commission for the work we were doing:

I suppose that you are just working under orders, but I am sorry that you are wasting your time like this. This was not what was expected when the Commission was set up. I don't think this type of investigation serves any useful purpose whatsoever. I want no part of it.

Interestingly enough, this position was little different from that expressed by a Liberal cabinet minister, who invited one of the senior interviewers to visit his office, and then refused to begin the interview. In his opinion there had been no problem of bilingualism and biculturalism before the Commission began its work; it was merely "stirring up trouble where none had been before"; he therefore wanted no part in its investigations.

The extent of the refusals and the failure to arrange interviews with several more front benchers were disappointing. Although throughout the course of the later analysis of the attitudes of back benchers, comparisons are made in the appropriate places with the views expressed by front benchers, not much should be made of these latter results, except perhaps with regard to the views of French-speaking front benchers, with whom we enjoyed greater success. The views of too many important front benchers on both sides of the House are excluded from the results to warrant anything more than the most tentative conclusions from the figures.

Table 3.17 Interviews, Refusals and Not Available with
Front Bench Respondents (Total)

	<u>No.</u>	<u>% horizontal</u>
Completed interviews	19	51.3
Refusals	10	27.0
Not Available	<u>8</u>	<u>21.6</u>
Total	37	99.9

Table 3.18 Interviews, Refusals and Not Available with Front
Bench Respondents (Total)

	<u>Liberals</u> ⁴⁵		<u>Conservatives</u>	
	<u>No.</u>	<u>% (vertical)</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>% (vertical)</u>
Completed interviews	12	48.0	7	58.3
Refusals	5	20.0	4	33.3
Not Available	<u>8</u>	<u>32.0</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>9.3</u>
Total	25	100.0	12	100.9

Table 3.19

	<u>French-speaking</u>		<u>English-speaking</u>	
	<u>No.</u>	<u>% (vertical)</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>% (vertical)</u>
Completed interviews	8	80.0	11	40.7
Refusals N/A	<u>2</u>	<u>20.0</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>59.3</u>
Total	10	100.0	27	100.0

12. Coding the Data: June 21 to September 3, 1965.

During the early weeks of June, while interviewers were finishing off the remaining appointments, we began to develop our code book in preparation for the analysis of the data. The task was not an easy one. Because so many of the questions had been "open-ended"; (i.e., we had not

⁴⁵ The Speaker is included here among the Liberals. It was never possible to interview him, unfortunately.

tried to force the respondent into a dichotomous or multiple choice but had allowed him a "free reply"), we now had to try to impose some order on the variety of responses, and, by establishing the relevant categories, place each of the respondents answers in the appropriate slot.

Miss Dibben and Professor Hoffman, who were familiar with the range of responses because of their previous perusal of the returned protocols, set up the code book and began coding the English-speaking responses. After coding about one-third of the protocols it proved necessary to revise the code sheet to take account of responses that had not been originally anticipated. We then re-coded, where necessary, the previously coded material using the revised code sheet, and proceeded to complete both the English and French protocols.

Our procedure was the same throughout: except where it was simply a case of recording objective data--the Member's age, experience in the House of Commons, etc. -- coding was always the result of joint agreement over the appropriate category. When there was a difference of opinion, an impartial view was sought from others. It would have been better, of course, had all the open-ended questions been coded by a team of at least three, but it was impossible to obtain further assistance for the great length of time involved.

As a check upon our own coding, after the last back bench protocol had been coded, we selected every tenth protocol and re-coded the open-ended questions in order to compare these results with the codes we had originally assigned. The result of the experiment was gratifying: a certain amount of bias cannot be denied, but at least we appear to have been consistent in our biases throughout! The one weak spot revealed by

The first part of the paper discusses the importance of the study of the history of the United States. It is argued that the study of the history of the United States is essential for a full understanding of the country and its people. The second part of the paper discusses the importance of the study of the history of the United States. It is argued that the study of the history of the United States is essential for a full understanding of the country and its people. The third part of the paper discusses the importance of the study of the history of the United States. It is argued that the study of the history of the United States is essential for a full understanding of the country and its people. The fourth part of the paper discusses the importance of the study of the history of the United States. It is argued that the study of the history of the United States is essential for a full understanding of the country and its people. The fifth part of the paper discusses the importance of the study of the history of the United States. It is argued that the study of the history of the United States is essential for a full understanding of the country and its people. The sixth part of the paper discusses the importance of the study of the history of the United States. It is argued that the study of the history of the United States is essential for a full understanding of the country and its people. The seventh part of the paper discusses the importance of the study of the history of the United States. It is argued that the study of the history of the United States is essential for a full understanding of the country and its people. The eighth part of the paper discusses the importance of the study of the history of the United States. It is argued that the study of the history of the United States is essential for a full understanding of the country and its people. The ninth part of the paper discusses the importance of the study of the history of the United States. It is argued that the study of the history of the United States is essential for a full understanding of the country and its people. The tenth part of the paper discusses the importance of the study of the history of the United States. It is argued that the study of the history of the United States is essential for a full understanding of the country and its people.

the experiment was the case in which, although the respondent may have mentioned, say three reasons for a phenomenon, only two reasons were being recorded in our columns; in these cases we discovered that we did not always select the same "second reason". There seems to be no way around this problem in coding open-ended responses, except, perhaps, the multiple-punching technique, which we wanted to avoid. In any case most respondents gave fewer than the maximum answers we were prepared to record, so that the effect of this distortion is not very great.

A little time was saved by coding directly on to an "optic sense" code sheet, thus avoiding the necessity of employing a card puncher to translate our coding instructions into punched data cards. The number of respondents involved was not very large as these studies go, but the amount of data obtained from each interview was considerable: we required all but the last 12 columns of the third I.B.M. card to record our data on each respondent.

During the first week of September, still hopeful that other interviews with front benchers might be obtained, we coded the 19 front bench interviews. Dissolution of Parliament took place within a few days, however, and the prospect of further interviewing was ended. We then turned to the analysis of data.

13. Analysing the Data

As soon as the data from the back bench respondents had been coded, we sent our code sheets off for computer tabulation. At this stage we were interested only in the distribution of the various responses which we had recorded. For the first computer run of the data, therefore, we used only two variables (the English or French language orientation of the respondent)

in the analysis. The result was 200 tables in computer-printout form (horizontal percentages only), which provided the basis for a much more refined second stage analysis.

Three major steps were taken between the two runs: the elimination for further analysis of items in which "No Answers" were particularly prominent; the combination of categories, on the basis of logic and numbers involved, in order to focus on the major categories of responses; and the specification of the many variables to be analysed. The second and third operations deserve further comment.

The problem of "small cells" is vital. Especially when one is dealing with coded responses to open-ended questions, the number of categories in any item may be quite large. Analysis of the distribution of responses may show that, for any one item, although responses are distributed throughout all codes, some codes have received only a few responses each. The problem is then to combine categories (codes) into more general categories, so that the numbers in each cell will be large enough to permit comparison with other categories. When categories are combined, of course, they must not be mutually exclusive. The following serves as a good example of the kind of combining operation we carried out.

In recording responses to the question "What, if anything is being done to solve [the problem of communication between English-speaking and French-speaking M.P.s] ?", we had allowed for ten possible codes, including the "No Answer" code. The "No Answer" code was expected to show a much larger than normal number of "responses" since this question was, of course, not asked of respondents who had indicated in answer to the previous question that they did not think there was any problem of communication.

The distribution of responses to this question as produced on the first computer run was as follows:

Table 3.20

Distribution of Responses to Question Dealing With
Solutions to Problem of Communication Between English-
Speaking & French-Speaking M.P.s

1. Nothing	13.1
2. "Quiet Revolution" of Quebec working toward solution	1.2
3. Language lessons	23.8
4. Extra effort to read about and understand Quebec affairs	5.0
5. Efforts to mix with other language groups	23.7
6. Discussion of subject helping	8.2
7. Technical devices (simultaneous translation) ...	13.1
8. French-Canadians should assimilate	0.8
9. Other	6.6

Only four categories seem worth using independently in any further analysis--codes 1, 3, 5 and 7. The rest could be conveniently combined into the category "Other". The question did arise, however, as to whether responses coded as "discussion of subject helping" might not sensibly be combined with "efforts to mix with other language groups". But since there was no clear indication that the discussion took place between M.P.s of different language groups, it seemed best to keep the two categories separate.

The following table shows the results of the survey conducted in the year 1945. The data is presented in a tabular format, with columns for the different categories and rows for the specific items being surveyed.

Category		Item	
A	1	Item 1	100
			200
			300
			400
B	2	Item 2	150
			250
			350
			450
C	3	Item 3	120
			220
			320
			420
D	4	Item 4	180
			280
			380
			480
E	5	Item 5	140
			240
			340
			440
F	6	Item 6	160
			260
			360
			460
G	7	Item 7	130
			230
			330
			430
H	8	Item 8	170
			270
			370
			470
I	9	Item 9	110
			210
			310
			410
J	10	Item 10	190
			290
			390
			490

The data presented in the table above is a summary of the survey results. It shows the distribution of items across different categories and the corresponding values for each item. The data is presented in a clear and concise manner, allowing for easy comparison and analysis.

For the second computer run, then, the categories analysed were as follows:

Table 3.21

Revised Code Categories (Second Stage Analysis)

- I. Nothing
- II. Language Lessons
- III. Efforts to mix
- IV. Technical devices
- V. Other
- VI. No Answer

Finally there was the problem of specifying the many variables to be analysed in the second stage computer analysis. Party, language, regions and urban/rural local of the respondents constituency were taken as the basic variables for our purposes; it was then necessary to impose sufficient "controls" on each variable to sort out the independent influence of the various factors involved. For example, after responses to the question "Do you think there is a problem of communication between French and English-speaking M.P.s?" were arrayed by party, language orientation of the M.P. etc. it might appear that the significant differences in responses were between Liberals and the other parties and between French-speaking and English-speaking M.P.s. By further analysis--taking only English-speaking M.P.s and arraying their responses by party--it would be possible to decide whether the apparent difference between the

Liberals and other parties was in this case accounted for by party or by differences in bicultural orientation.

When it came to analysing the data through the use of other variables of "controlling" for the influence of other variables, we had to be very selective indeed. With more than 200 columns of data on the I.B.M. cards the number of tables that might have been produced by various combinations of interchanged variables is staggering. We simply selected those variables which intuition suggested were most relevant. There are, undoubtedly, a vast number of interesting relationships and useful insights remaining to be drawn from the raw data with which we worked. We did the best with the time and responses available to us, however, and the results we have produced are without doubt important.

The first part of the report deals with the general situation of the country and the progress of the war. It is followed by a detailed account of the operations of the various branches of the service, including the army, navy, and air force. The report concludes with a summary of the results of the operations and a statement of the resources available for the future.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE CANADIAN M.P.S' PERCEPTION OF THEIR ROLES

The central theme of this chapter is the examination of the ways in which Canadian M.P.s think of their roles. The main concern of the next chapter will be to elucidate the manner in which M.P.s perform their roles as they see them. Before turning to these matters, however, it is necessary to pay some attention to the political background of the Members, concentrating particularly on the ways in which they became involved in politics, and the different experiences they bring to bear on the job.

1. Political Involvement

In recent years political scientists have come to recognize that while an individual's early experience in the family exerts an important influence upon his later political attitudes and participation, many later experiences may be equally important.¹ It appears to be the case that "the more stimuli that a person receives, the greater the likelihood that he will participate in politics, and the greater the depth of his participation"²; and that "children growing up in a home with a high incidence of political discussion and a high intake level for political

¹See Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba, The Civic Culture, Princeton, 1963, pp. 323-374; Wahlke & Eulau, op. cit., pp. 77-95; and Allen Kornberg and Norman Thomas, "The Political Socialization of National Legislative Elites in the United States and Canada", Journal of Politics, Vol. 27, 1965, pp. 761-2.

²Lester W. Milbraith, Political Participation, Chicago, 1965, p. 39.

THEORY

1. THEORY OF THE EARTH

The theory of the earth is a branch of geology which deals with the origin and development of the earth and its various parts. It is a science which seeks to explain the processes which have shaped the earth and its various parts. The theory of the earth is a branch of geology which deals with the origin and development of the earth and its various parts. It is a science which seeks to explain the processes which have shaped the earth and its various parts.

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stimuli are more likely to maintain a high level of exposure to stimuli about politics when adults."³ Given that M.P.s are untypical of a cross section of the general public in their great interest and participation in political activity, we might expect to find that family influence has a considerable part to play in their involvement. This conclusion would indeed be expected from the results of two existing studies on the political socialization of Canadian M.P.s.

Kornberg and Thomas asked a selected leadership group of Canadian M.P.s: "How did you first become interested in politics?". They analyzed the replies in terms of a "political socialization continuum": Early-Family; Adolescent-Self-starter; Adult-External. They found that 54% were involved in the first manner, 11% in the second, and 35% in the third.⁴ Moreover, they concluded that family influence was more important in the political socialization of Canadian legislative elites than of comparable elites in the United States, and that "among those socialized early by the family, the responses of the Canadian leaders reveal a much more conscious effort on the part of the family to indoctrinate."⁵

³ Ibid., p. 43.

⁴ Kornberg & Thomas, op. cit., p. 768. They followed up the quoted question with another: "What is your earliest recollection of being interested in it?" The authors used three "time codes" --childhood or grammar school; adolescence or high school; and adult--and three "agent codes"--family; self; and external events--in their analysis. They found such a high level of correlation between time and agent that they felt justified in collapsing the variables into the three elements of the political socialization continuum.

⁵ Ibid., p. 767.

In her study of the twenty-sixth Parliament, Miss Caroline Andrew, using a limited questionnaire, asked respondents: "When did you first become interested in politics? High school? University? Could you specify please?". By structuring the responses she lessened the possibilities of respondents' mentioning their early childhood involvements, but even so the results broadly support the other findings: in her sample 51.6% of the respondents mentioned an interest in politics by the end of high school.⁶ Her results are also important in confirming the notion that the children of politically active parents are most likely to be socialized early to political roles. Having established that Conservative M.P.s were more inclined than any others to have politically active parents, she shows that Conservatives (66.6%) are the most inclined to say that their interest in politics springs from a time before the end of high school.⁷ Her study also reveals the converse relationship: Liberals, who were found to be those with the weakest political family ties, are the most inclined of all to report recent interest in politics; and the most inclined to the Adult-External end of the Kornberg-Thomas socialization continuum. The Andrew study also reveals an interesting regional variation in the pattern of political socialization:

The Maritimes have the highest percentage of Members who listed their interest as starting before the end of high school. This is not surprising in view of the long tradition of politics in the Maritimes. The traditional two party system has been established there longer than it has in other parts of the country and it is

⁶ Andrew, op. cit., pp. 48-50. 9.6% of her sample did not specify a time.

⁷ Ibid., pp. 47 and 50.

the only region in which a two party system is still firmly in control. These factors tend to make politics very much part of the traditional environment and therefore likely to have interested people at an early age. In keeping with this argument, British Columbia has the lowest percentage of Members becoming interested before the end of high school. This illustrates the fluidity of British Columbian politics. Quebec has also a low percentage of members with early interest, one almost identical to that of British Columbia.⁸

Our data, while affirming the importance of the influence of the family (particularly of the politically active father) also lend support to the idea, developed by Wahlke and Eulau, that political socialization "could occur at almost any phase of a person's development."⁹ When M.P.s were asked how they first became interested in politics, their answers referred to a number of influences, of which the following may be taken as typical:

J'ai toujours fait partie d'organisations politiques et sociales dans ma paroisse; également des organisations de loisirs; en consequence j'ai été en contact avec le public; de plus, mon père fait de la politique, ayant été élu conseiller municipal ... en 1947. Un groupe d'amis fit pression sur moi pour que je me présente comme conseiller municipal ...; j'ai été élu a ce poste....
L'ambition aidant, j'ai regardé plus haut et c'est comme cela que j'ai décidé de me lancer dans la politique fédérale. (Liberal)

I first became interested in politics through a mutual friend after the war. I looked after his election campaign and one thing led to another. Before long I became interested in politics. My family had always been pretty active, my mother's family being active Liberals and my father's active Conservatives. In 1956 the association asked me to stand. Up to that point I'd not thought of the possibility. At first I refused, but they came back again. I discussed it with my father and mother. The association was having trouble getting a candidate. I didn't anticipate being elected and

⁸ Ibid., p. 51. One Maritime Conservative, referring to his early interest in politics and the environment in which he was brought up told one of our interviewers: "In my neck of the woods a mixed marriage is one between a Liberal and a Conservative."

⁹ Wahlke and Eulau, op. cit., p. 77.

was actually defeated in 1957. But I was elected in 1958. (Conservative)

I developed an interest early in life, influenced by my home environment. My participation was minimal until 1961--sometimes I only voted and did nothing else active. Up to that time I was preoccupied in (my business). I had a healthy interest in economics and politics. The Diefenbaker era provoked concern with me. I felt that somebody had to do something. (Liberal)

a paragraph
Alors que j'étais étudiant à Laval, je suis entré dans l'association des Etudiants libéraux universitaires. J'ai été encouragé à la politique active par un individu et également par contre-réaction à Duplessis. (Liberal)

I can't remember when I wasn't interested, even as a student. My father was secretary of the School Board and a member of the Liberal Party. There was always plenty of discussion of political matters in the home. At university I met Dr. Woodsworth and was affected by the idealism of the veterans of the First World War with whom I was associated at the university. (New Democrat)

In order to take account of the multiplicity of influences we coded up to three influences on political involvement for each respondent. Unfortunately, although this approach had the advantage of capturing the complexity of influences on an M.P.'s political socialization, it also led to analytical problems which the pressures of time did not permit us to solve adequately for this study. Had the elucidation of the patterns of political socialization been vital to the main theme of our study, we would have recoded and reworked the computer analysis of the data to bring out more substantial conclusions from the material collected; but since it is not central to our argument we present now only the following partial results.

Essentially our data, in ~~the~~ present form, fail to distinguish between the time of first interest in politics and the agents vital in awakening that interest. Our results indicate, for example, that nearly 40% of our sample of backbench M.P.s referred to the influence on their political involvement of politically active relatives, a figure somewhat

lower than indicated by the two other studies mentioned. But our data also show that 32.8% mentioned friends as being influential and that 23.8% mentioned that school days' experience had been influential.¹⁰ Our difficulties arise from the fact that we collected together all the references to a particular influence without sorting out the order of influence: if we had merely focussed on the primary influence on political involvement we would, by drawing from a combination of "relatives actives", and early school influences, have obtained results more comparable to previous studies. However, our results are most useful in indicating what influences other than the early family and school experiences either sustain political interest for those who have already been motivated, or awaken interest and involvement in politics for others in later life.

Friends were mentioned as an influence on political involvement by 32.8% of the respondents, with French-speaking M.P.s being considerably more inclined to mention this influence than English-speaking M.P.s. Local government experience, as an entrée into an active political role, was mentioned by 12.3% of the respondents; it was roughly equally as between the two language groups, but rather more common among Conservatives within the English-speaking group. Devotion to the leader, as a reason for involvement in politics later in life, was mentioned by about a tenth of the respondents, the vast majority of these being English-speaking Conservatives. Disgust with the existing government, either at the provincial or federal level, was mentioned by nearly 15% of the respondents, with both

¹⁰ French-speaking respondents were a little more inclined to mention school experience than English-speaking M.P.s.

English-speaking and French-speaking Liberals particularly inclined to this reply. Finally, a number of respondents mentioned other "external influences" on their political involvement: three specifically referred to the trade union movement as having quickened their interest in politics; two said that the local party situation provoked it (in the sense that the respondent reacted to the "need to get rid of the incumbent"); and two referred to the influence of professional associations and interest groups in awakening their interest. The overall results indicate few differences in the patterns of political socialization of the two principal language groups.

There is a difference between political interest and political participation: the interested (and, as often seems to be the case in Canada, the only slightly interested) must still be recruited to political roles. Normally this is the task of the political party. In countries such as Britain, where the competition among potential recruits for the opportunity of serving in the House of Commons is keen,¹¹ it is the task of the party machinery to allocate recruits to the areas of demand and to carry out the formal selection procedures. In Canada, where the keenness of intra-party competition for political office seems to be generally less, the party must play the role of recruiter in a rather different sense: where local interest is low, parties become virtual press gangs, attempting to persuade one respected citizen or another to take a turn at national political office.

¹¹ In Britain "in safe or winnable Conservative seats it is not unusual for well over a hundred persons to apply, and even in hopeless seats there are usually at least fifteen to twenty applicants." Austin Ranney, Pathways to Parliament (Madison & Milwaukee, 1965), p. 58. The situation is not quite so competitive in the Labour Party, but it is not uncommon apparently for 15 candidates to contest a winnable seat.

It is appreciated that potential candidates to political office rarely seek candidacy entirely on their own; they must seek the support and assistance of others in the process. But in examining the process of recruitment to politics in Canada we may nevertheless distinguish between those who themselves take the initiative in recruitment, and those who appear to respond, perhaps reluctantly, to the initiatives of others. Following Lester Seligman we distinguished between three fundamentally different modes of political recruitment: self-recruitment (the initiative springing from the respondent); co-optation (the recruitment of a prestige candidate from outside the party organization altogether, who has been persuaded to run to enhance support of the party); and conscription (the recruitment of a loyal riding association official or member to contest an often hopeless seat for the good of the party).¹² We classified our respondents in terms of the three modes of recruitment on the basis of information drawn from the following questions:

2. Did any particular person or group encourage you to enter active politics? (PROBE CIRCUMSTANCES)
3. (IF NOT ALREADY MENTIONED) How did you come to run as a candidate for the party?

For 9 per cent of the respondents interviewed there was not enough information to classify them definitely within one of the three categories; there was sufficient information to be sure that they were not self-recruited, but we could not decide whether they were conscripted or co-opted. These appear as "Uncertain" in the table below, and should not be taken as possible additions to the ranks of the self-recruited.

¹²

See Lester G. Seligman, "Political Recruitment and Party Structure: A Case Study", American Political Science Review, LV (March, 1961), pp. 85-6.

Just a quarter of the respondents interviewed in our survey were classified as self-recruited; 37.7% were conscripted; and 27.9% were co-opted. Interestingly enough there are no significant differences between French and English-speaking M.P.s or between M.P.s from urban and rural constituencies, and even the differences between the parties are slight.¹³ English-speaking Conservatives and Liberals are almost

Table 4.1

Recruitment Method of English and French-Speaking
Backbench M.P.s (Horizontal %)

	<u>self-recruited</u>	<u>conscripted</u>	<u>co-opted</u>	<u>uncertain</u>
English	25.9	38.8	25.9	9.4
French	24.3	35.1	32.4	8.1
N=	31	46	34	11

identical in their mode of recruitment, with the difference between English-speaking Liberals and French-speaking Liberals being actually greater (although still slight) than the difference between the two major parties overall. However, there are differences between the pattern of recruitment

¹³ It should be kept in mind that there is a very slight coding error which affects the results throughout: inadvertently one English-speaking Conservative was coded as a French-speaking Liberal. The number of English-speaking respondents and the number of Conservatives are therefore one less than they ought to be. Given that the effect of this error is to lessen (very slightly) any differences we would wish to assert exist between the attitudes and dispositions of English and French-speaking M.P.s or between Liberal and Conservative M.P.s, the error is not serious.

to the major parties and the pattern of recruitment to the minor parties in the House of Commons: no Social Credit M.P.s were self-recruited; two-thirds of the Cr ditistes were co-opted; and the majority of New Democrats were conscripted.

The regional differences, while not especially great, do suggest different patterns of recruitment: more M.P.s from Ontario (particularly Conservative M.P.s) are self-recruited than in any other region and more Maritime M.P.s (again particularly Conservative M.P.s) are conscripted than in any other region. No single region appears to be especially disposed to the co-optation of candidates: in the Prairies and Quebec roughly 36% were so recruited; in British Columbia the proportion of co-opted candidates was less than one-fifth.¹⁴

Undoubtedly the most interesting feature of recruitment to Canadian politics is the low level of self-commitment to a political career even among people who are otherwise interested in politics. The point is especially well illustrated by looking at the position of Maritime M.P.s. Maritimers were most disposed to say that their interest in politics began at an early age: reared in an atmosphere in which party affiliation and party competition are more clearly at the surface of daily life than perhaps anywhere else in Canada, Maritime M.P.s develop early in life an interest in politics in general and, more particularly, a commitment to one or another of the two older political parties. Despite this, they are apparently reluctant to pursue the candidature of a political party on

¹⁴Our overall figures and the party and regional variations noted fit closely with those obtained by Miss Andrew in her survey of the entire Membership of the House. When she asked M.P.s whether they actively sought the nomination, 68% said they did not. See Andrew, op. cit., pp. 75-77.

their own initiative: in our figures Maritime M.P.s (particularly Conservatives) are the least inclined of all to be self-recruiters. It is this reluctance to pursue a political career on their own initiative, and the corresponding necessity for political parties to persuade people to run as candidates, that result in a number of M.P.s prepared to admit that they got into federal politics "accidentally".

II. Pre-Parliamentary Political Experience

It is necessary now to look briefly at the political experience of our respondents prior to their entry into the House of Commons as back-benchers. This is the more important in the light of what we have discovered about patterns of recruitment to federal politics. It may be that the reluctance of Members to state that they have actively sought their own nomination is an attempt to conform to what might be taken to be the expected standard of behaviour among the general public. It may be thought unseemly to appear too anxious to achieve political office. Just as the crime fatale of the British Conservative Party is to appear "too clever by half", in Canada the original political sin may be to appear unduly ambitious. If this were the case we might expect to find that "diffidents" (those who described themselves as co-opted and conscripted) were more politically active in the years prior to becoming an M.P. than would otherwise be anticipated.

Our knowledge of the patterns of representation in Canada since Confederation would not, however, lead us to expect that as much as half the total membership of the House of Commons would have prior governmental experience at either the municipal or provincial level. In the early days

of Confederation, roughly to the beginning of this century, prior experience, particularly at the provincial level, was more commonplace; now it is much less so.¹⁵ In order to take account of previous political experience of the non-governmental variety as well, we asked all respondents:

What governmental or party position--local, provincial or federal--had you held before becoming an M.P? (LIST ALL PLEASE)

The results substantiate the notion that municipal and provincial political experience is a good deal less prevalent than it once was: our figures for backbenchers indicate that only one quarter of the respondents had previous municipal government experience and only 3.5% had experience at the provincial level.¹⁶ Indeed, the most striking conclusion to emerge from our data on this point is the relatively insignificant political previous experience of our respondents in general: 30% of the backbenchers interviewed said that they had no previous political experience either of the governmental or the party variety; 26% had been members of their local party executive at one time or another; another 24% had been members of their party's provincial or federal executives; and 30% had received other previous political experience as constituency organizers, youth organizers, or within university political groups. The figures as we present them of course allow for some double counting: some members may have been local

¹⁵ See Ward, The Canadian House of Commons: Representation, p. 122.

¹⁶ Miss Andrew's figures for the entire Membership of the House indicate a little more previous provincial government and municipal experience; 37% of her respondents mentioned previous municipal government experience.

party executive members and active in youth organizations; some might have been municipal councillors and members of their provincial executives; some, in fact, mentioned holding more than two previous offices. The point is that almost a third of our respondents had no previous political experience whatsoever; and among those who had been active a surprisingly small number had ever been politically active within the executives of their local or provincial party organizations.¹⁷

Further evidence for the rather casual political involvement of Canadian M.P.s prior to election is offered by the results of Miss Andrew's study. She invited respondents to reply to the question "were you active in the party before running for Parliament" by ticking one of four possible answers: "very active"; "moderately active"; "occasionally active"; and "not active". Her results are a valuable supplement to ours because, by inquiring into political activity "in the party" without specifying office-holding, she maximized the number of respondents likely to indicate some level of activity at least, since the criterion of participation was so minimal. Even so, 16.3% of her respondents said that they had not been active and a further 9.2% said they had been only occasionally active. Only 56% of her respondents said that they had been "very active".

The pattern of previous political experience is not uniform throughout Canada or throughout the political parties, but it is interesting ^{that} we found no evidence to suggest fundamental differences between the two

¹⁷ In this respect our experience is not much different from the British, apart from the fact that municipal experience appears particularly prominent among Labour candidates. See Ranney, op. cit., pp. 107-108, 197, 198.

principal language groups. English-speaking M.P.s are a little more inclined to have been active on the provincial or federal executives of their parties, and French-speaking M.P.s are slightly more inclined to have been active on the executives of their local party associations, but otherwise there are no differences. Both language groups' M.P.s are equally disposed to say that they have had no previous political experience.

The differences are most acute between the parties. Social Credit and Cr ditiste M.P.s have the least previous political experience of any of the parties, but English-speaking Liberals have proportionately as many inexperienced M.P.s as the Cr ditistes. The N.D.P. has the fewest inexperienced M.P.s, the bulk of them having gained either local government experience or experience at the federal or provincial executive level. Conservatives are a little less inexperienced than Liberals, with municipal experience (especially for Prairie Conservatives) appearing important. Regional differences are present, but they are not as marked as those of party: Quebec M.P.s (nearly 40%) are the least experienced before going to Ottawa, but no other region's M.P.s stand out clearly as being especially experienced. Municipal government experience ranks lowest in the Maritimes and highest in the Prairies; local party executive experience ranks lowest in the Prairies and highest in the Maritimes; membership on the federal or provincial executive of the party ranks highest in British Columbia (the effect of the New Democrats) and lowest in Quebec.

In one sense the most significant finding to emerge thus far is the appreciation of our respondents' low level of self-generated involvement in a political career, and their relatively low level of active participation in politics prior to their becoming M.P.s. In another sense

(and from the viewpoint of this study the most important) there is the awareness of how little difference there really is in the patterns of socialization and involvement between Members of the two principal language groups. French-speaking M.P.s in general were no more inexperienced, and no more co-opted or conscripted to politics, than English-speaking M.P.s. French-speaking M.P.s were a little more inclined to be influenced by friends in taking up an active interest in politics, and a little more inclined to mention school days' experience as influential, but these differences are slight. Particular French-speaking M.P.s, notably the Cr ditistes, stood out from the rest in their lower level of prior political experience, and their tendency to be co-opted into party candidature; but these differences were counterbalanced by equally distinctive features within other parties or regions represented in the House. What gives a general uniformity to the results, however, is not just the high degree of similarity of experience among English and French-speaking respondents, but also the great deal of similarity, generally speaking, between the respondents from the two major parties. The variations which occur in the results presented thus far are to some extent accounted for by variations within the minor parties of the House. The fact that representation in the House of Commons from the minor parties is unevenly distributed between the regions is often sufficient to cause what appear to be regional variations.

III. M.P.s' Perceptions of Their Roles

We have been discussing thus far the patterns of involvement and recruitment (the facts of our respondents' experience) and have found few

startling differences, at least between French and English Canadians. Can we therefore expect to find a similar uniformity in their perceptions and attitudes? To this we now turn our attention.

The most important questions which we had in mind when we began this study of Members of the House of Commons were these: How do Canadian M.P.s regard the job of M.P.? What do they think is his proper role? Are there any fundamental differences in the way in which M.P.s see their roles and are there clear differences here between English-speaking and French-speaking M.P.s? In simplest terms we were concerned to discover how Canadian M.P.s align themselves with two conflicting theories of "representation". On the one hand is the "trustee" notion, given its classic formulation by Edmund Burke in his Speech to the Electors of Bristol: "the member is chosen to represent the nation as well as the local area, and he is expected to use his talents and make his decisions largely by the exercise of his own personal judgment."¹⁸ On the other is the delegate theory of representation: "the member is the mouthpiece of his constituency, the necessary human agent through which the voters continually register their will".¹⁹ The relationship between a Member and his constituency, and, perhaps more crucially, between a Member and his party, in practice does not often confront the individual

18

R. MacG. Dawson, The Government of Canada (4th edition, revised by Norman Ward, Toronto, 1963), p. 346. This book uses the term "representative theory" instead of "trustee theory", but we prefer the latter here (used by Wahlke and Eulau in their study of legislators' role perceptions, op. cit.) because it avoids the "representative theory of representation" implicit in the other formulation.

19

Loc. cit.

with a clear-cut choice between these alternative notions. "For a Member is bound by many obligations, pledges, and loyalties; and any decision will incline one way or another in accordance with the relative strength of the many complex forces which are operating at that time and on that issue."²⁰

Still, it should be possible to decide which orientation on balance will be selected by the Member most of the time; in other words, it should be possible to discover the M.P.'s general perception of his representational role. Professor Dawson expressed the view that: "So far as any generalization on such a matter is possible, the bulk of the Canadian constituencies and of the members who sit for them, favour the representative rather than the delegate idea, although in most cases a substantial dependence on the constituency is apparent."²¹ This opinion was at variance with that of another observer of Canadian politics writing at roughly the same time as the first edition of Dr. Dawson's book. To the journalist Austin Cross:

In ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, the member goes to Ottawa to speak for his own constituency and no other. That is what the member thinks he is sent to Ottawa to do; and that is what the electors think he is sent to do.²²

Neither observer stresses party loyalty, and the impressively high degree of party cohesion in House of Commons divisions, which appear to transcend

²⁰
Ibid., p. 347.

²¹
Ibid., p. 346.

²² Austin Cross, The People's Mouths, (Toronto, 1944), p. 114.

the pressures of either constituency or personal judgment.

From the results of our survey of Members of the House of Commons we are able to add to the impressions of earlier observers. Indeed we can go beyond their notions of M.P.s' perceptions of their roles to consider what may be called their "areal" and "purposive" as well as their "representational" roles. We are not in a position to assess the perceptions of the role of M.P.s as held by constituents. (It would be a worthwhile subject of research to pursue this matter further, attempting to establish the degree of "fit" between an M.P.'s perception of his role and his constituents' perception of his role, and even between his role perception and their notions of his perception of the role.) But we were able to ask our respondents what they considered their own roles to be, and also whether they thought that their constituents' view of that role differs from theirs'. The results of our enquiries are of considerable importance.

IV. Representational Roles

Before presenting the evidence it is necessary to develop a slightly more complex theory of the "representational role" than can be embodied within the dichotomy of the "trustee" and "delegate" theories of representation. Fundamentally we must take into account the relatively high degree of party cohesiveness as an integral part of the Canadian M.P.'s

political life.²³ It is inadequate for our purposes to treat as a simple "delegate" both the M.P. who takes instructions from his constituents and the M.P. who takes his instructions from his party. "Other direction" may, as Robert Lane argues, be functional in a pluralist society,²⁴ but it surely is crucial for any theory of representation to distinguish between "other direction" by constituents or constituency pressure groups and "other direction" by a political party. What then is the delegate in Canadian terms?

There are two different types. The first is the M.P. who acts on the basis of instructions or orders from his constituents, or from pressure groups within his constituency; crucially, he is prepared to vote for the

²³ A study of divisions during the first two sessions of the 26th Parliament revealed a very high level of cohesion within the parties. On the vast majority of issues there was no intra-party division at all.

The method used to compare the degrees of party cohesion was to divide the total number of M.P.s voting within one party by the total number voting with the majority. Thus, if 66 M.P.s voted with their party and two voted against, the group of 66 was divided by the total number voting, 68, to give a cohesiveness rating of 97.1%. Included in the category of those who voted against their parties were the few members who announced that they had abstained from voting, or that, though paired, would have voted against their party or abstained. The data we present is based on an analysis of all the divisions and all the parties for the two sessions under review.

Considering that included in the period was the flag debate, a more than usually divisive issue, the cohesiveness of our parties is remarkably high: the average cohesiveness rate for all parties and all votes was 96.8%. The parties had the following average cohesiveness rates: Rallie Cr ditiste, 100%; Liberals, 99.9%; Conservatives, 98.4%; New Democrats, 97.0%; and Social Credit, 92.9%. Judy Dibben, Divisions (unpublished research paper prepared in the offices of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism).

²⁴ Robert Lane, "Political Character and Political Analysis", Psychiatry, 16 (1953) pp. 387-98.

interests of his constituents against his own inclination, or against the wishes of his party. Such an M.P. we might call the "Pure Constituency Delegate". He represents one extreme of "other directedness": for him neither personal belief or judgment nor party loyalty are sufficient to intervene between the instructions he receives from his constituents and his actions in the parliamentary arena. It is unlikely that this so-called Pure Constituency Delegate exists in Canada. Few Canadian M.P.s can be said to receive orders or instructions from their constituents, certainly on any regular basis. Indeed, M.P.s occasionally complain about the difficulties of finding out what their constituents think. But, are those M.P.s who act according to what they consider the wishes of their constituents to be considered any less "delegates" in any meaningful sense? We would argue that they are not. True, they often exercise personal judgment in assessing the wishes of their constituents (and this may often permit a rationalization of constituency interests in terms of personal or party wishes); but if they are prepared to vote against their own personal wishes or, more often, against the wishes of their party in response to their perceived notion of the wishes of their constituents, they are no less "other-directed" than the pure constituency delegate. The commands in this case are simply less defined. The "Constituency Delegate" (our term for this role type) acts to the best of his ability for his constituency; neither personal belief nor judgment, nor his party's wishes, refract his commitment to express as faithfully as he can the wishes of his constituents.

The other type of "delegate", the "Party Delegate", is equally other-directed; in this case his "commands" come from his party. The

M.P. may entertain certain vague notions of general compatibility between his own and his party's views or between his constituents' views and those of his party, but for him such considerations are irrelevant for his behaviour. The party determines a position; he follows that line. There is no exercise of independent judgment or action (except perhaps in the formulation of the original party line).²⁵

At the other end of the spectrum, at the extreme of "inner-directedness", is the "Trustee". He is either unaware of or indifferent to the demands of his constituency and party; the trustee emphasizes acting on the basis of conscience or individual judgment and is, crucially, prepared to vote contrary to the wishes of his constituents and/or his party if necessary.

Between these extremes is another type, the "Mixed Type". These M.P.s cannot be easily categorized as bound to constituents or party or their individual views, but vary in their behaviour depending on the issue. Sometimes the Mixed Type will be prepared to vote against party, but on minor issues only. He is also inclined to say that normally he will vote according to his own views, but then will say that considerations of either party or constituency will intervene to affect his attitude. In short, the Mixed Type has no fixed representational role in mind for himself; depending on the issue he will act just like a Party Delegate, a Constituency Delegate, or even a Trustee.

²⁵ It should not be thought that personal judgment or constituents' views are of no importance to the Party Delegate; indeed he may "represent" these opinions in party caucus or on other occasions; essentially, however, the Party Delegate perceives his role in terms of supporting his party's policy.

The information from which the representational role classifications were decided was drawn from the following questions:

8. First, how would you describe the job of being an M.P.? What are the most important things you should do as a Member of Parliament?
12. Are there any differences between the way you now think of the job of M.P. and the way you thought of it before you came to Ottawa?
13. Do you think there are any important differences between what you think your job is and what your constituents think it is?
17. We know that an M.P.'s personal views and those of his party will not always be in line. Supposing you wished to take a stand on an issue which you knew was different from the majority view of your party, what would you probably do?
- 18(a). Suppose that you wanted to take a certain stand on an issue before the House, but you knew that a majority of the people in your constituency would want you to take another stand, what would you probably do then?
- 19(a). If an issue ever arose in which your party's position was at odds with the wishes of most of your constituents, would you be more likely to go along with the party, or more likely to go along with your constituents?
- (b). In what circumstances is an M.P. justified in voting contrary to his party's position?
- (c). In what circumstances is an M.P. justified in voting contrary to the views of his constituents?

It cannot be denied that our coding of respondents in terms of one of the four representational role types involved the most subjective decisions in the entire coding procedure. There was no way around it. We could not simply ask M.P.s if they thought of themselves as Trustees, etc. All we could do was confront them with a number of opportunities in which to disclose their role perceptions and, by weighing up all the responses

they made to our questions, categorize them as best we could.

It might be thought that the Mixed Type of representational role, being vaguer than the rest and permitting of the greatest degree of inconsistency from one answer to another, would have received, as a kind of residual category, the bulk of the respondents. However, although it turned out to be the largest single category, it represented only 36% of the total; 33% were classified as Trustees, 18% as Party Delegates and 12% as Constituency Delegates.

The following are selected from the responses of each role type.

Constituency
Delegate

The job is public relations almost exclusively. I'm a constituency man. I try to participate in other things, but I have no choice: there is no democracy in the party so I look after my constituents. I'm here to represent the people of (Liberal)

I look on this as a servant of the people. In addition to individual problems there is the overall well-being of your constituents, which is usually reflected in the well-being of Canada generally.

One's first commitment is to the people you represent; this is the first. If you overlook this you're a dead duck politically and maybe you should be.

Basically an M.P. is a representative of the people and his job is to represent their views and their aspirations and where they happen to be different from your own you should consider the majority of people.

(Liberal)

Les vues de mes électeurs l'emportent, mais je leur expliquerais néanmoins mon point de vue. Un député peut voter en sens contraire du parti lorsqu'il a fait une promesse devant ses électeurs et le parti prend une position contraire à cette promesse.

(Créditiste)

Party Delegate

[In the situation in which I wished to take a stand on an issue different from the majority of my party]

I would see my leader first before I spoke in caucus on it. This is the most helpful thing to do I have discovered over the years. He will explain the party's position to me. His explanation is often the right one. I might express my opinion in caucus and give examples

of why it might not be advantageous but I would follow the caucus decision.

[In a clash between party's position and constituents] I would go with the party. I presented myself as a Conservative; they knew I was a Conservative when they elected me. (Conservative)

I'd stand behind the party so long as I remained a member of the party. The party has more objectivity than constituents. (Liberal)

Le député n'est pas justifié de voter en sens contraire du parti sur une question ayant trait au programme du parti et qui entraînerait la chute du parti; le député doit d'abord démissionner du parti, puis voter contre; autrement, il trahit et son parti et ses électeurs. (Liberal)

Trustee

How do you know the views of your constituents? I had to make up my own mind on the flag on what I thought was right and take that position. On the Canada Pension Plan, which I think is good, I got a number of letters from people who didn't like it. I had no hesitation to explain my position in a letter. I won some over, some not. I'd take the position more readily than when I first came. I'm more secure, older, and now have a reputation for being a certain kind of person. (New Democrat)

Je n'hésiterais pas [à adopter une position au contraire ~~des~~ électeurs] et je prendrais la mienne, car le député n'est pas ~~le~~ ^{un} messageur de ses électeurs. (Liberal)

à celle de mes

I'd probably abstain from voting first, though I'd express my opinion in caucus. If it were a matter of principle I'd vote against my party. There should be a free vote on every issue: the party line way of voting is wrong. It's one of the big flaws in our system. [And in reply to the question; "in what circumstances is an M.P. justified in voting contrary to the views of his constituents"] ... on a matter of principle. A man has the right to vote against his constituents if he feels they are wrong. (Conservative)

Mixed Type

My first obligation is to my constituency. [If an issue ever arose in which my party's position was at odds with the wishes of most of my constituents] I would go along with my constituents; but on the other hand, a Member has a job to more or less control the thinking of his people by telling them what he thinks. I had definite views on the flag. I talked to

people on the flag. They sent me down to make a decision right or wrong. (However, in answer to the question: "in what circumstances is an M.P. justified in voting contrary to his party's position?" he replied): I don't know. On major issues there is not much justification. I believe in majority rule unless there is a pertinent local issue. (Conservative)

Je l'exprimerai ^{is} [mon opinion] d'abord au sien du caucus, puis à la Chambre des Communes; s'il s'agit d'une question sans grande importance, je ~~suis~~ ^{sans} prêt à renoncer à mon opinion personnelle car je fais partie d'une équipe.

...je ne crois pas que le député est nécessairement le porte-parole des opinion de ses electeurs, car ~~une fois~~ ^{une fois} qu'ils l'ont élu, ils doivent faire confiance à son intelligence et à sa compréhension. (Liberal)

Interestingly enough, there were no significant differences in the proportion of English and French-speaking M.P.s in each of the four role types; nor were there any significant variations depending on the urban/rural location of the M.P.s' constituencies. However, there were significant differences between the parties, between the regions, and also between M.P.s in the different age groups. On the whole, the differences between Liberal and Conservative M.P.s, with regard to representational roles, were less than the differences between the major and minor parties in the House of Commons. Roughly the same proportions of Liberals and Conservatives were classified as Constituency Delegates and Mixed Types, approximately 10% and 40% respectively. The only distinction between the two older parties was that the Liberals were relatively more inclined to the Party Delegate role perception, and Conservatives were relatively more inclined than Liberals to the Trustee role perception; but even here the differences are not great. Overall, N.D.P. M.P.s were most inclined to the ^{Trustee} role perception.

Table 4.2

Representational Role Perceptions of
Backbench M.P.s, By Party* (horizontal %)

	<u>Constituency Delegate</u>	<u>Party Delegate</u>	<u>Trustee</u>	<u>Mixed Type</u>
Liberals	9.5	23.8	25.4	41.3
Conservatives	12.5	12.5	34.4	40.6
N.D.P.	0.0	11.1	77.8	11.1
Social Credit	20.0	20.0	40.0	20.0
Créditistes	50.0	0.0	33.3	16.7
N =	14	21	38	42

*The one Independent respondent is omitted from the table.

There were not, as already noted, any significant differences in role perception between English-speaking and French-speaking M.P.s. We would not therefore expect any really sharp differences in role perception within the Liberal Party as between English-speaking and French-speaking Members; and this is the case. The only point worth noting from this comparison is the tendency for French-speaking Liberals to group themselves rather more in the Mixed Type of role, at the expense of Trustee and Party Delegate perceptions of the representational role, as compared with their English-speaking colleagues: 52% of the French-speaking Liberals as compared to only 34% of the English-speaking Liberals are so classified. Reasons for this difference will be suggested later.

In regional terms there are not many apparent differences. The only exceptions worth noting are these: M.P.s from B.C./Yukon are more

inclined than M.P.s from any other region to regard themselves as Trustees; on the other hand not one M.P. from B.C./Yukon regarded himself as a Constituency Delegate. This is not simply accounted for by one particular party (especially, one might think, the N.D.P. Members from British Columbia) but is general throughout the other parties as well. We may also note that while no Maritime M.P.s regarded themselves as Party Delegates, the vast majority, particularly the Liberals, were classified as Mixed Types.

Table 4.3

Representational Role Perceptions of Backbench

M.P.s, By Regions (horizontal %)

	<u>Constituency Delegate</u>	<u>Party Delegate</u>	<u>Trustee</u>	<u>Mixed Type</u>
B.C./Yukon	0.0	27.3	63.6	9.1
Prairies/N.W.T.	11.8	23.5	23.5	41.2
Ontario	16.2	24.3	29.7	29.7
Quebec	11.4	14.3	37.1	37.1
Maritimes	12.5	0.0	25.0	62.5

We may also compare the influence of previous political experience on the representational roles adopted by Members. Generally speaking, there is little variation as a result of differing political backgrounds, but a few interesting facts stand out. M.P.s with a background in municipal politics are a little more inclined to the Constituency Delegate perception; those with no previous political experience are noticeably more inclined to the Trustee perception (51.5%); and those with previous

political experience in university political associations, as constituency organizers or youth group organizers, are much more disposed than any others to the Mixed Type role perception.

Although the differences are not great, there are some variations in the role perceptions of Members related to their age. What stands out is that the over-60's are more inclined to the Party Delegate perception and the under-34's are most inclined to either the Trustee or Mixed Type perception. No under-34 member saw himself as a Party Delegate, and only one saw himself as a Constituency Delegate. Liberals, it should be noted, account for all but two of the Members under 34 years of age in the House of Commons in our sample. In terms of absolute numbers, the largest number of Trustees came from the 35-44 age groups and the largest number of Party Delegates came from the 45-59 age group.

We can go some way towards explaining the variations in perception of representational roles, and also add greater depth to our understanding of the different perceptions, by examining separately some of the responses to the questions which were classifying the role types. In particular, by exploring reactions to several postulated conflicts: between the M.P.'s own views and those of his party; between those of his party and those of his constituents; and between his own views and those of his constituents; we may be able to sort out the major considerations which M.P.s have in mind with regard to their representational roles.

Taking first the results overall, we find that two-thirds of the M.P.s are prepared to stick to their own views even though they know that their constituents would want them to take another stand. In this respect there is no difference between English and French-speaking M.P.s: only 16.7% of the former and 20.0% of the latter said that they definitely

would go with their constituents even against their own personal judgment of a situation. Nor are the differences between the parties great: there is hardly any difference in the responses of Liberals and Conservatives; there is also no difference between English-speaking and French-speaking Liberals. The only differences worth mentioning (and these too are not great) are: the tendency for New Democrats to be a little more disposed than the others to stick to their own views (note their high Trustee ranking); and the clear tendency of Cr ditistes (100%) to be inclined to side with their constituents.²⁶ The only variation from a common pattern worth noting when the responses are examined in regional terms is this: Maritime M.P.s (and this is particularly characteristic of the Liberals) are least inclined to stick to their own views against the wishes of their constituents. Only 46.7% of the Maritime M.P.s said that they would stick with their own views, 26.7% said that they might go with their constituents and a further 26.7% said that they would side with their constituents against their own personal views.

It is only when the responses are examined from the point of view of the urban or rural location of the M.P.'s constituency that really significant differences occur. M.P.s from the urban constituencies are most inclined to stick to their own views; M.P.s from the mixed urban and

²⁶ In Part B of the questionnaire we asked M.P.s to indicate their agreement or disagreement with the proposition that "Most constituents will respect you all the more if you stick to your own views in face of their opposition." Slightly more than half the respondents agreed with the suggestion, less than 20% disagreed and a little more than a quarter were not sure. No differences were revealed here in terms of principal language group of the respondent or the urban/rural location of his constituency. Cr ditistes and Maritime M.P.s were most inclined to disagree with the idea.

rural ridings are least inclined to stick to their own views. M.P.s from the most rural constituencies are a little more inclined to stick to their own views than M.P.s from the mixed constituencies, but are not as inclined as those from the cities.

Table 4.4

Disposition of Respondents to Stick to Their Own Views
in Conflict with Those of Their Constituents, by Urban/Rural
Location of the M.P.'s Constituency (Horizontal %)

	would stick to own views	might go with constituents	would go with constituents every time
Rural	63.9	27.8	8.3
rural - <i>urban</i>	55.0	15.0	30.0
urban	<u>81.1</u>	<u>5.4</u>	<u>13.5*</u>
N =	75	18	20

*These were all Liberals.

If the majority of Canadian M.P.s are inclined to follow their own judgment against the wishes of their constituents, they are considerably less inclined to display the same independence when their personal views are in conflict with those of their party; in this situation 57% of the respondents who answered the question²⁷ said that they would go with their party. Once more there are no significant differences between the responses of English-speaking and French-speaking M.P.s. Nor are there more

²⁷The question asked was: "We know that an M.P.'s personal views and those of his party will not always be in line. Supposing you wished to take a stand on an issue which you knew was different from the majority view of your party, what would you probably do?"

significant differences between the rural and urban M.P.s. The most significant differences in this case are between the parties. It will be recalled that Liberals were no less inclined than others to stick to their own views against the wishes of their constituents, but they admit to being far less willing to stick to their own views against the wishes of a majority of their party. French-speaking Liberals are just a little more inclined than English-speaking Liberals to go with the party in this case; but the substantial difference is between the Liberal Party and the others.

Table 4.5

Disposition of Respondents to Stick to Their Own Views in
Conflict with Those of Their Party,* by Party (horizontal %)

	would stick to own views	would go with party	N/A
Liberals	25.8	74.2	3.1
Conservatives	56.2	43.8	13.5
N.D.P.	77.8	22.2	0.0
Social Credit	80.0	20.0	0.0
Créditiste	50.0	50.0	0.0

* Independent omitted

Regionally, it appears that Western M.P.s are a little more inclined than those from Quebec and Ontario to stick to their own views; but the important difference to be noticed is the very considerable disposition indeed of Maritime M.P.s, especially Liberals, to go along with their party at the expense of their personal views. Only 18.8% of the Maritime M.P.s said that they would stick to their own views against the wishes of

The first part of the paper discusses the importance of the study and the objectives of the research. It also provides a brief overview of the methodology used in the study. The second part of the paper presents the results of the study and discusses the implications of the findings. The third part of the paper concludes the study and provides some final thoughts on the research.

Table 1: Summary of the study results	
Variable	Value
Mean	1.2
Standard Deviation	0.5
Minimum	0.5
Maximum	2.0
Range	1.5
Skewness	0.8
Kurtosis	1.2

The results of the study show that the mean value of the variable is 1.2, with a standard deviation of 0.5. The minimum value is 0.5 and the maximum value is 2.0. The range of the variable is 1.5. The skewness of the variable is 0.8 and the kurtosis is 1.2.

their parties.

Table 4.6

Disposition of Respondents to Stick to Their Own Views
in Conflict with Those of Their Party, by Regions (horizontal %)

	would stick to own views	would go with party	N/A
B.C. Yukon	54.2	36.4	9.1
Prairies	52.6	31.6	15.8
Ontario	40.0	57.5	2.5
Quebec	38.9	55.6	5.6
Maritimes	18.8	81.3	0.0

If their personal views were in conflict with either their parties or their constituents, our respondents were clearly more inclined to go along with their parties than they were inclined to go along with their constituents. In other words the "trusteeship" content of our respondents' role perceptions showed up more clearly vis à vis constituents than it did vis à vis parties. This was especially noticeable with Liberals. However, in the situation where the constituents' wishes were known to be in conflict with the views of the majority in their parties the choice was a tougher one. In this case M.P.s were not so clearly prepared to go along with their parties; displaying traces of a "Constituency Delegate" and "Trustee" perception they tended to answer that they would use their own judgment depending on the circumstances. Some 31.3% said that they would be more likely to go along with their constituents, 27.7% said they would definitely go along with their parties, and 41.1% said that they would use their own

judgment depending on the issues involved.

Responses to this situation brought out differences between the English-speaking and French-speaking M.P.s. French-speaking M.P.s were more inclined to go along with their parties in the case of a conflict between their own personal views and their parties, but in the case of conflict with their constituents' views they were more inclined to go along with their *constituents*.

Table 4.7

Self-Attributed Behaviour of English-Speaking and French-Speaking
M.P.s Confronted by an Issue in Which Their Party's Position was
at Odds with the Wishes of Most of Their Constituents

	would go with constituents	would go with party	would use own judgment
English	24.4	33.3	42.3
French	47.1	14.7	38.2
<hr/>			
N =	35	31	46

Although French-speaking Cr ditistes and Social Crediters were a little more inclined than French-speaking Liberals to go along with their constituents, the differences between the two language groups are not simply accounted for in party terms. English-speaking Conservatives were more inclined to go with their constituents than were English-speaking Liberals, but French-speaking Liberals were more inclined than either to go along with their constituents: 39.1% of the French-speaking

Liberals, as compared with only 18.9% of the English-speaking Liberals, were inclined to go along with their constituents; only 13% of the French-speaking Liberals, compared with 32.4% of their English-speaking colleagues, would have definitely gone along with the party. There was no difference between the English-speaking Liberals and English-speaking Conservatives on this matter: a little more than 30% in both party were inclined to the "Party Delegate" perception.

By and large the regional comparison follows the lines that would be expected from the apparent differences between the two principal language groups; the only point worth noting here is the very clear tendency of Maritime M.P.s, especially Liberals, to opt for the "use own judgment" response. Maritime Conservatives were inclined to follow their party in a conflict between party and constituents, but the Liberals were not: 70% of them replied that they would use their own judgment depending on the circumstances.

When account is taken of the ages of respondents, a few interesting differences emerge. The youngest M.P.s (who are mainly Liberals) are least inclined to say categorically that they will go with their party: 66.7% said they would use their own judgment and only one said he would go with his party. The most inclined to go with party were, as might be expected from the results presented earlier, those over 60. They were the least inclined to go with their constituencies and the least inclined to say they would "use their own judgment." There are no differences among the bulk of the Members who fall in the 35 to 59 age group.

We are now in a position to attempt to explain the major differences which were noted earlier in representational role perceptions. French-speaking Liberals, we then saw, tended to be classified as Mixed Types

in terms of their role perceptions. These M.P.s, many of them below the age of 34,^{me} characterized by a perception of their role that cannot simply be categorized as being bound to their constituents' or party's or individual views. Further analysis has shown that they are much inclined to go along with their party at the expense of their personal views (thus undercutting, in a sense, the "Trustee" qualities of their role perception); but they are generally speaking less inclined than their English-speaking colleagues to go along with their party in a clash with the interests of their constituents (thus undercutting the "Party Delegate" quality of their role perception.) Generally speaking French-speaking Liberals are inclined to go along with their party, especially after trying to influence the party's position either in caucus or elsewhere; but when they feel that the interests of their constituents are greatly affected, by a position adopted by their party with which they do not agree, then the Trustee/Constituency Delegate perceptions enter to dilute the normal Party Delegate perception of their role.

We can also throw further light on the relatively clear disposition of Maritime M.P.s, particularly Liberals, to fall within the Mixed Type of role classification. It must be recalled that no Maritime M.P.s were categorized as Party Delegates. Maritime M.P.s were, compared with all others, far less inclined to stick to their own views against those of their constituents, and were also far less inclined to stick to their own views against their party views. Clearly, the "trusteeship" orientation is weakest amongst Maritime M.P.s, particularly among the Liberals, but the Party Delegate orientation is mixed up with a Constituency Delegate orientation as well. This fact was clearly revealed when Maritime M.P.s, particularly Liberals, were confronted with the hypothetical situation in

which their party's position was in conflict with their constituents. In this case Maritime M.P.s were less inclined than others to opt for either the constituency or the party but plumped heavily (again this is particularly true of the Liberals) for the response that they would use their own judgment depending on the issues and the circumstances. As a result of this ambivalence it is not surprising that a great many Maritime M.P.s, especially Liberals, were classified as Mixed Types in their representational role perceptions.

Further evidence of the nature of the representational role perceptions of French-speaking Liberals and Liberal Maritimers is provided by answers to the question: "In what circumstances is an M.P. justified in voting contrary to his party's position?"²⁸ In this case there were hardly any significant differences between the language groups, between the parties, or between the regions. The only points worth noting relate directly to the Maritime M.P.s and to French-speaking Liberals. The former, more than any other group, single out "matters of conscience" as occasions on which one is justified in voting against party. We might have expected that "clashes with the interest of constituents" might have rated a little higher with them as an answer, as it did for M.P.s from the Prairies, Ontario and Quebec; but it did not. We can only surmise that a clash with the constituents' interests is not for the Maritime M.P. sufficient to overcome the pull of party loyalty; it requires also the additional support

²⁸We also asked M.P.s: "In what circumstances is an M.P. justified in voting contrary to the views of his constituents." There were no significant differences in responses between English and French-speaking respondents, and because of the large number of "No Answers", "Don't Know" answers and "other" answers to this question we did not proceed with further analysis of the responses.

of his own conviction before the drastic step will be taken. On the other hand, French-speaking M.P.s (and this was true of French-speaking Liberals as well as the others) were far more inclined to mention a "clash with the interests of constituents" or "a combination of a clash with constituents' interests and conflict with one's conscience" as justifications for voting against party. In addition, a few French-speaking Liberals mentioned the following extreme situation as justifying their defiance of their party: in cases of grave national issues, such as their party's resistance to the opting out clause for Quebec, or the abolition of the use of the French language in the House of Commons, they felt justified in voting against their party.

V. Areal Roles

Thus far we have been concerned exclusively with what we have called the M.P.'s representational role. We have discussed, in other words, different styles of representation. But we may distinguish, even if theorists like Burke did not,²⁹ between the style of representation and the focus of representation. As the authors of an important study of American state legislators have argued:

Today, many "publics" constitute significant foci of orientation for the representative as he approaches his legislative task. Under the conditions of a plural political and social order, these foci of representation may be other than geographical in-³⁰terests, be they electoral districts or the large commonwealth.

²⁹ See Heinz Eulau, John Wahlke et. al., "The Role of the Representative: Some Empirical Observations on the Theory of Edmund Burke", American Political Science Review, LIII (September 1959), pp. 742-44.

³⁰ Ibid., p. 744.

The legislator's focus of representation may be closely related to his style of representation, but there is no necessity that it be:

...the fact that a representative sees himself as reaching a decision by following his own convictions or judgment does not mean that the content of his decisions is necessarily oriented towards a general rather than a particular interest, just as his instructions from a clientele group does not necessarily mean that he is oriented towards a special rather than a public interest. A representative may base his decisions on his own conscience or judgment, but the cause he promotes may be parochial. Or he may follow instructions, but the mandate may be directed toward the realization of the general welfare.³¹

We would be unwise to pursue too strictly in a study of Canadian M.P.s a research design that had its rationale in a political system in which the institutions of government, including the parties, are so different; but the main point (that one can usefully distinguish between styles of representation and foci of representation) is valid, and will be followed here.

The data from which "areal roles" were deduced were the responses to the same questions we have already indicated above as useful in determining representational roles. One further question was asked, however, in order to focus on one particular variant of the "areal role":

11. (IF AFTER PROBING FOR A FULL DESCRIPTION (OF THE
ROLE OF M.P. THE RESPONDENT HAS NOT MENTIONED
"PROVINCIAL SPOKESMEN," ASK)

Some members sometimes mention the job of acting as a provincial spokesmen as part of their role as M.P.

- a) Do you think this is properly the job of an M.P.?
- b) Do you regard this as a part of your job?

³¹ Ibid., p. 745.

As might be expected, many M.P.s were unable or unwilling to suggest that the focus of their representation was limited to any one geographical area. When we coded the responses we therefore classified respondents in terms of their dominant, dominant and secondary, and shared foci, when it turned out that M.P.s had more than one focus of representation. The task of classification was made easier by the careful probing of most interviewers to obtain from the respondent some ranking of the foci in the cases where more than one was mentioned.

Our original distribution of responses using the multiple categories employed in coding the data yielded the following results:

	<u>English</u>	<u>French</u>
Constituency only	12.0	8.0
Constituency dominant, province/region secondary	6.0	10.8
Constituency dominant, province and nation secondary	16.9	8.1
Constituency dominant, nation secondary	18.1	16.2
Constituency and province equally important	1.2	8.1
Constituency and nation equally important	16.9	8.1
Province dominant, constituency secondary	0.0	5.4
Nation dominant, constituency secondary	14.5	10.8
Nation dominant, constituency, province equally secondary	12.0	10.8
Nation dominant, constituency and province almost equal	2.4	5.4
Constituency, province, national almost equal	0.0	2.7
Nation dominant, province secondary	0.0	5.4

Clearly this distribution of responses was too varied for further

analysis, and yet it was evident that responses could be grouped around a basic focus at the national, provincial or constituency level. We therefore decided to analyze responses in terms of the dominant representational focus: "nation-dominant"; "province-dominant"; "constituency-dominant"; and "shared focus", between constituency and province equally, constituency and nation equally, or between constituency, nation and province equally.

When the respondents' areal role perceptions are treated in this way no significant differences appear between M.P.s from the two principal language groups. But there are significant variations between rural and urban M.P.s, between the parties, and between the regions. The differences in terms of the urban/rural location of the constituency are not great, but there is a tendency, not accounted for simply by party differences, for the rural M.P.s to be the most dominantly constituency-oriented; the urban M.P.s on the other hand tend to be more dominantly national in their areal role perceptions. The differences between the parties are more interesting. The Social Credit Rally is the only party with members whose areal role is dominantly provincial; the N.D.P. has proportionately the most members with the nation-dominant focus of representation; and the Conservatives have proportionately the most members with a constituency-dominant focus. Generally speaking, the main differences are between the Liberals and Conservatives together, compared with the others, for between them the two major parties account for 90% of the backbench M.P.s in the House with the "constituency-dominant" focus of representation.

Table 4.8

Areal Role Perceptions of Backbench M.P.s,
by Party (horizontal %)

	<u>nation-dominant</u>	<u>constituency- dominant</u>	<u>shared focus</u>	<u>province- dominant</u>
Liberal	23.7	54.2	22.0	0.0
Conservative	25.7	65.7	8.6	0.0
N.D.P.	55.6	11.1	33.3	0.0
Social Credit	40.0	40.0	20.0	0.0
Créditistes	16.7	33.3	16.7	33.3
<hr/>				
all M.P.s	27.0	53.0	18.3	1.7
N =	31	61	21	2

As might be expected from the absence of significant differences between the two language groups, there are no significant differences in the role perception of English-speaking and French-speaking Liberals.

To some extent the regional variations that are present are accounted for by differences between the parties. M.P.s from British Columbia are by far the most inclined to the nation-dominant focus, but this fact is to a great extent accounted for by the position of the N.D.P. members from British Columbia. Maritime M.P.s are least given to the nation-dominant areal role perception, and favour more than M.P.s from any other province the constituency-dominant focus.

Table 4.9

Areal Role Perceptions of Backbench M.P.s,
by Region (horizontal %)

	<u>nation-dominant</u>	<u>constituency- dominant</u>	<u>shared focus</u>	<u>province- dominant</u>
B.C./Yukon	63.6	36.4	0.0	0.0
Prairies	27.8	66.7	5.6	0.0
Ontario	20.0	52.5	27.5	0.0
Quebec	28.1	43.8	21.9	6.3
Maritimes	14.3	71.4	14.3	0.0

It is mainly the M.P.s from Ontario and Quebec who are disposed to a focus of representation which we have termed here the "shared focus"; the numbers in these categories are not great, but there are slight differences between them. The shared focus for Quebec M.P.s tended to be more a sharing of focus between constituency and province; whereas with Ontario M.P.s it tended to be a sharing of focus between constituency and nation. When these facts are kept in mind the apparent difference between M.P.s from the two provinces, in terms of the constituency-dominant and nation-dominant orientations, breaks down.

In addition, it is necessary to take into account a feature of areal role perceptions that has been somewhat lost in the analysis thus far. We had not expected to find many backbench M.P.s for whom the province was the dominant focus of his representational orientation (at the expense of, say, even his constituency); but preliminary interviews with M.P.s had led us to expect that a considerable number, both English and French-speaking, would mention at least a secondary concern for representing the

interests of their province or region. This secondary focus, or even tertiary focus, of respondents has been lost in an analysis which had concentrated on the dominant focus of representation of M.P.s who may have mentioned other foci as secondary. To take account of this we may now look at the distribution of respondents, analyzed here only in terms of English-speaking and French-speaking, who mentioned their province or region as playing at least some part in their areal role perception. When this is done, differences in the areal role perception of English-speaking and French-speaking M.P.s do appear: only 38.5% of the English-speaking M.P.s mentioned their province (or occasionally region) in their role perceptions, whereas 56.7% of French-speaking M.P.s did so.

Although a considerable number of both English and French-speaking M.P.s regard representation at Ottawa of the province (or region) as a legitimate facet of their role as M.P., a few M.P.s, when asked specifically whether they thought the role of "provincial spokesman" is properly the job of an M.P.,³² vigorously denied this areal role as appropriate to a federal M.P.:

No I don't. The House of Commons is balkanizing itself. The Cr ditistes are only seeking re-election. This depends on the degree to which they can defend the rights of French Canada. It frightens me that they will defend this right against Canadian unity. I also find this present in Western Members.
(Quebec Liberal)

I have no ambitions to take over the role of Premier Robarts. I think he is doing a wonderful job. I came here to represent [my constituency] in Canada; if I wanted to represent [my constituency] in the province I would have gone to Queen's Park. We have enough provincial members acting as spokesmen as it is. (Ontario Conservative)

³²

One Liberal respondent claimed that he had never heard of federal M.P.s considering themselves as provincial spokesmen.

Le député ne peut pas être le porte-parole ^{d'une province} ~~provincial~~; il est d'abord le porte-parole ^{des} ~~du~~ canadien. Les provinces ont ^{assez} ~~des~~ moyens ^{pour} ~~de~~ faire valoir leurs ^{points de} ~~vues~~. (Quebec Liberal)

I think it's a very dangerous thing to do. You're here as a federal member, not as a representative of a province. I'm a Western member, but I think that it is balkanizing the country even to think of oneself as a regional member.

(Prairie Conservative)

Je pense que le député est élu pour représenter un comté ~~pour~~ du Canada non ~~pas~~ d'une province. Il y a des caucus pour s'expliquer. (Quebec Liberal)

On the other hand, there were a considerable number of M.P.s who, while not taking a provincial spokesman role themselves, could easily appreciate why others did. Many noted the great problem, depending on the region, of separating the provincial or regional aspects from one's role as spokesman for a constituency. Two Liberal M.P.s, one from Quebec, the other from Ontario, reflected aloud on the geographical and political considerations that influence the adopting of a provincial spokesman role.

I don't think the Members from Ontario reflect an exclusively Ontario approach, and this may, of course, be arrogance: what's right for Ontario is right for the rest of the country. As an Ontario Member, I believe that all Ontario Members look on relatively strong central government as being in the interests of our province. Therefore, the bias in favour of strong central government may actually be provincial but sounds federal. Ontario has an interest in maintaining a strong and centralized nation because we've been one of the beneficiaries of Confederation. I'm essentially being a provincial spokesman when I defend a strong central government.

Je veux faire ^{des} ~~une~~ distinctions entre géographie et politique. Géographiquement, le Canada est une synthèse de régions et si le député ne s'identifie pas à une ^{a une} région ou province, son efficacité est réduite. Si un député veut être efficace au fédéral, il faut qu'il soit accepté par les politiciens provinciaux qui sont du même parti, sans tout de même être leur porte-parole. Tous les hommes politiques qui ont réussi sur le plan canadien, étaient identifiés: exception, C.D. Howe.

^{ainsi}

Finally, we must consider another feature of the areal role

perceptions that might have been obscured by our method of comparing respondents in terms of the dominant focus of representation. We suggested earlier that when Quebec M.P.s were coded as "shared focus" this meant that they tended to share a focus between constituency and province, whereas Ontario M.P.s tended to share their focus between nation and constituency. But we seem to have allowed the constituency focus of Quebec M.P.s to receive too little weight. In terms of the constituency-dominant focus, as a result of our coding, Quebec M.P.s appear to be actually less constituency-oriented than English-speaking M.P.s. But this characterization is in sharp contrast to Quebec M.P.s' self-description in another part of our questionnaire. In Part B of the questionnaire M.P.s were invited to agree or disagree with the proposition that: "The Quebec M.P. tends to be more concerned with looking after his constituents than with national policies", and the results show that nearly 70% of the Quebec M.P.s agree! English-speaking M.P.s are not nearly so inclined to agree with the proposition.³³

The constituency-dominant focus has been presented earlier as the primary areal perception of Quebec M.P.s. What must be acknowledged is that it has not apparently been accorded the importance which Quebec M.P.s think it has. The fact that the percentage of Quebec M.P.s disagreeing with the proposition (30%), is almost exactly the same as the percentage recorded as "nation-dominant" in their areal focus, lends support to our analysis; it suggests that the extent to which the constituency focus has been obscured may to some extent be accounted for by the tendency of some

³³ 42.0% of the English-speaking back-bench respondents agreed with the proposition; 40.6% disagreed with it; and 17.4% were not sure.

Quebec M.P.s not to distinguish closely between the provincial focus and the constituency focus in their areal role perceptions. Further confirmation of this hypothesis is offered later when we consider what roles French-speaking M.P.s attribute to themselves as French Canadian M.P.s.³⁴

VI. Purposive Roles

The role perceptions of the M.P. are not limited to those of style and focus; we may also inquire into his further notions of the role in the sense of his characterization of the job. We may discover, for example, that an M.P. regards himself as essentially a Party Delegate with a dominantly national focus of representation, but we would still not know anything about what he thinks his role is within the parliamentary setting. The same general question ("how would you describe the job of an M.P.?"), along with the supplementary questions from which we have been able to derive the representational and areal role perceptions, yielded information from which we were able to analyse M.P.s in terms of their characterization of the job of M.P.

Several M.P.s mentioned more than one characterization of the job. Rather than set up our analysis in terms of a multitude of combinations of purposive role perceptions, with one feature dominant in one case and secondary in another, we coded as many as three "characterizations" of the job for each M.P., and then compared the number of times each characterization is mentioned by M.P.s within certain definable groups. One particular characterization of the job, the so-called "liaison officer",³⁵ was

³⁴See next chapter.

³⁵We took our "liaison officer" role type from a description used by many M.P.s themselves in the course of their description of the character of the job of M.P. The French equivalent was often "commis-voyageur" or "préfet d'administration".

mentioned by nearly 80% of the M.P.s; all this means is that for the vast majority of M.P.s at least one facet of their notion of the job of M.P. is the task of acting as a liaison between the constituency and the national government. Since so many M.P.s mentioned this particular purposive role, attention inevitably centres on those M.P.s who also (or in a few cases exclusively) referred to other notions of the job.

After the very popular "liaison officer" role, the next most frequently mentioned was what we have called the "Lawmaker" role perception. "Lawmakers" were distinguished from "Ritualists", another evident type, by mentioning as part of their job the notion of actually influencing the making of and amending of legislation. Ritualists, on the other hand, tended to make vague references to Parliament's law-making function, but without emphasizing their own active participation. Ritualists appear to regard themselves as ciphers in the legislative process. Another role mentioned by 25% of all M.P.s was what we have called the "Ombudsman".³⁶ M.P.s with this orientation went beyond the general remarks of a liaison officer to stress the part they play in handling the grievances of their constituents. A few M.P.s characterized their job as fighting elections for their party; a few others characterized it as getting themselves re-elected. A more substantial purposive role, mentioned by a little over 13% of the respondents, was that of "Propagandist": helping to get public and/or government ready for advances in social and other legislation.

Many M.P.s, as we have already indicated, characterized their job in terms of more than one of the types; the following are typical of

³⁶ This was a term used by many M.P.s themselves in their own characterizations of the job.

the responses received and show the variety of combinations which exist.

I would first describe the job of an M.P. as a legislator: he studies the need for laws and participates in committee work. Second, the job of representing his constituency. There are problems which arise concerning government policy on the area requiring a relationship with government departments. In the constituency there is the problem of communication between industry and government concerning the allocation of contracts: expansion of dock facilities; liaison work with employees associations. It's a job of frustrations. You must constantly fight the bureaucracy of the civil service. There are limitations on what the individual can achieve.

(Lawmaker/Liaison Officer/Ombudsman)

The most important thing you should do as an M.P. is to answer all correspondence received. The public deserves a reply. I endeavour to help, and even when I can't I go through the first stage to show that I tried.

(Liaison Officer only)

It is a question of where the stress lies. The first job is to be an "ombudsman" for your constituents as their M.P. I agree that I should be concerned with national affairs, but it's my interpretation that gets me re-elected.

(Ombudsman only)

Un député doit représenter le comté; mais il ne doit pas être un bureau de remplacement. Il étudie des projets de loi, participe réellement aux comités d'études, car chaque député doit connaître les problèmes à fond et doit avoir la liberté de faire connaître son point de vue en Chambre.

(Lawmaker/Liaison Officer)

I don't know how to answer that. Everyone asks it. The most important thing an M.P. should do is be well informed.

(Ritualist only)

Avant d'être un backbencher il est un législateur, et un administrateur même. C'est un gars qui essaie de comprendre le mouvement du pays et il essaye de canaliser ce mouvement; C'est un éducateur, un professeur qui enseigne à la nation.

(Lawmaker/Propagandist)

From my own standpoint an M.P.'s first job is to be au fait with and have some influence on a number of areas of national policy; one has to be prepared to express one's own views on these matters.

Constituents think that it is more important that I should be an Ombudsman, in legal and welfare matters as a complaints bureau. I think it important, but I think this aspect is overstressed. A Member should not spend all his time on this. A Member should certainly keep his ear to the ground on riding matters in order to ascertain the real problems, but it does compete occasionally

too much with the time devoted to wider issues. I don't regard it as my function to express my point of view on every issue in the House. I don't regard it as a function to find out the views of constituents and support them whether I agree or not. If unpopular I'm prepared to take the consequences--though in practice it is nothing as forthright nor as courageous as that. I agree with Burke--although you have to bear in mind that Burke never stood for Bristol after that address: he stood for a pocket borough! (Lawmaker/Ombudsman)

Generally speaking, the differences in purposive role perceptions between M.P.s of the two principal language groups are not great. The only slight differences worth noting are: the tendency for French-speaking M.P.s to mention lawmaking roles (both the Lawmaker and Ritualist roles) rather more often than English-speaking M.P.s; and for English-speaking M.P.s to be somewhat more inclined to the Ombudsman role.

Table 4.10

Role Perceptions of English/and French-speaking

Backbench M.P.s

	<u>% of English-speaking M.P.s mentioning role</u>	<u>% of French- speaking M.P.s mentioning role</u>	<u>N</u>
Liaison Officer	74.1	83.0	94
Ombudsman	29.4	16.2	31
Lawmaker	50.6	64.9	67
Ritualist	16.5	29.7	25
Opportunist	1.2	2.7	2
Election Fighter	5.9	0.0	5
Propagandist	11.8	18.9	17

When the responses are examined by party, previous political experiences, age of the member, extent of House of Commons experience, and urban/rural location of constituencies, no significant differences appear. The only points worth mentioning are that, as might be expected, urban M.P.s are the most inclined to mention the Ombudsman role; and that Liberals and Cr  ditistes are most inclined to mention the Lawmaker role, which might not have been expected.

The differences between the regions are not very great, certainly not as great as we have encountered elsewhere; but there are a few things worth noting. Maritime M.P.s, as might be anticipated, are thoroughly "Liaison Officer" in their role perceptions; every single Maritime M.P. mentioned at least this role for himself. On the other hand, Maritime M.P.s do not incline much to either the Lawmaker or, even more noticeably, the Ombudsman notions of the job of M.P. Quebec M.P.s, thanks in part to the Cr  ditistes, seem inclined to the Lawmaker role, but not quite as much as M.P.s from British Columbia. Clearly it is the urban M.P.s from Ontario, particularly the Liberals, who adopt the Ombudsman perception of their job.

Table 4.11

Liaison Officer, Ombudsman and Lawmaker Perceptions
of the Role of M.P., by Region (horizontal %)

(% total more than 100% because M.P.s mentioned more than one role)

	<u>Liaison Officer</u>	<u>Ombudsman</u>	<u>Lawmaker</u>
B.C./Yukon	63.6	27.3	72.7
Prairies	77.7	22.3	33.3
Ontario	72.5	40.0	55.0
Quebec	79.9	19.5	66.5
Maritimes	100.0	6.3	43.8

VII. The Perception of Role Differences

In order to try to discover to what extent M.P.s were aware of the different role perceptions among their parliamentary colleagues we asked all respondents, after inviting them to describe their own notions of the job of an M.P., the following questions:

Do you think that most M.P.s from other parties would describe the job in much the same way as you have? If not, how would they differ?

Do you think that most M.P.s from other provinces would describe the job in much the same way as you have? If not, how would they differ?

The results are interesting indeed.

With regard to certain role perceptions (e.g., the liaison officer perception) there is no difference between the parties; it would not be surprising then that M.P.s did not recognize a difference in this sense. But with regard to the representational role and the areal role perceptions there were clear differences between the parties. It might reasonably have been expected that these would be recognized. We therefore decided to code a response as "respondent thinks that role perception varies between parties" if differences were noted in any one of the three facets of the role perception that we have been using in our analysis. Even when this step is taken, thus loading the situation in favour of a recognition of differences between the parties, the number of M.P.s who see differences between the parties is very low. Only 16.5% of the respondents stated that there are differences in role perception attributable to party; 23.1% stated that there are differences in perception which are not related to

party,³⁷ and 14.0% stated that they did not know whether such differences existed.

There were no significant differences in the responses on the basis of the urban/rural location of the respondent's constituency or his region; there appears to be a significant difference on the basis of the mother tongue of respondents, but these differences are better explained in terms of party differences than language differences.

The point was not stressed in the analysis above, but it may be recalled that the differences in role perception between Liberals and Conservatives, in all three facets examined, were slight. It is perhaps not so surprising, therefore, that Liberals and Conservatives tend to agree that there are no differences in role perception; conversely they are the least inclined to state that differences based on party exist. New Democratic and Cr ditiste M.P.s, whose perceptions did differ rather more from the others, are most inclined to recognize that differences in role perception exist between the parties.

³⁷ One Maritime M.P., for example, thought that the differences in perception of the role of M.P.s were more clearly related to whether or not the M.P. came from an urban or rural constituency: "Urban M.P.s are more interested in the problems of broader application--for example, bilingualism and constitutional problems--whereas rural M.P.s are more concerned with local affairs."

Table 4.12

Responses of M.P.s from All Parties to the Question
of Whether M.P.s from Other Parties would Describe
the Job of M.P. in Much the Same Way as They Have
(horizontal %)

	There are no differences	Description of job varies, but not according to party	Description does differ by party	D.K.
Liberals	52.4	23.8	12.7	11.1
Conservatives	43.2	21.6	13.5	21.6
N.D.P.	22.2	33.3	22.2	22.2
Social Credit	60.0	20.0	20.0	0.0
Créditistes	33.3	0.0	67.7	0.0
N =	56	28	20	17

However, there are differences between the English-speaking and French-speaking members of the Liberal and Conservative parties that are worth mentioning. French-speaking Liberals were no more inclined than English-speaking Liberals to recognize differences in perception based on party, but they were more inclined than English-speaking M.P.s to state that there were no differences whatever between M.P.s' perceptions of their roles. The situation within the Conservative party was different: whereas only 3 of the 35 English-speaking respondents said that perceptions differ, both the French-speaking respondents interviewed stated that perceptions did vary by party.

What were some of the differences between the parties mentioned by the few who observed such differences? The dominant theme was the recognition of the differences in behaviour and attitude of M.P.s from the government party as compared with those from the opposition, but a wide variety of views was expressed, of which the following are typical:

La majorité ne s'occupe pas de tout de la législation;
la majorité ne s'occupe pas de tout de rencontrer leurs
organisations. (Créditiste)

C'est le rôle de l'opposition de critiquer, mais j'ai
l'impression que chez eux on veut d'avantage se faire
réélir que de légiférer pour le bien du Canada. (Liberal)

M.P.s from the more doctrinaire parties take a different
approach: Liberals' and Socialists' directions are derived
from doctrine; Conservatives get it from the people; they
are more pragmatic. (Conservative)

Overall, M.P.s were only a little more inclined to recognize differences in role perception based on province: 41.3% stated that there were no differences in perception; 18.2% stated that there were differences which were not based on province; 28.9% stated that there were differences in perception; and 11.6% stated that they did not know whether perceptions differed.³⁸ Once more there are no really clear differences between M.P.s from the two principal language groups. French-speaking M.P.s are more definite that there are no differences in perception based on province; but English-speaking M.P.s are not, on the other hand, more inclined to say that perceptions vary by province. The difference is accounted for by a slightly larger proportion of

³⁸ One French-speaking Liberal backbencher replied in answer to the question of whether or not M.P.s from other provinces would describe the job in much the same way as he did: "Je ne sais pas: car depuis que le gouvernement est minoritaire, on ne connaît pas les députés des autres provinces."

English-speaking M.P.s who either do not know, or think that the differences which exist are not based on the M.P.'s province.

Once more there are no significant differences between Conservatives and Liberals; nor are there, this time, any differences between the English and French-speaking M.P.s within the two major parties. N.D.P. members (55.6%) were most inclined to state that differences in perception exist based on province; and Cr ditistes (83.3%) were most inclined to state that there were no differences in perception based on province. The majority of the latter were clearly convinced that they perceive of their role differently from the Liberals in Quebec, but were not inclined to think that their role perception was substantially different from M.P.s from other provinces.

The following are representative of a variety of reasons given by the minority of M.P.s who recognized differences in perception of the role based on province (or perhaps region).

In certain constituencies in Eastern Canada the M.P.s are most interested in their constituencies. In the West we take a broader outlook; we are not so traditional. They are more volatile in the East; the M.P. therefore has to pay more attention to his constituents. (Prairie M.P.)

I can hardly see the average Westerner, based on his remarks in the House, showing any concern for national unity when they know so little of the problem. I never cease to be amazed by the well intentioned ignorance of some Members. Western Members, at least among the Tories, are twenty years older in age and ideas than other Members. (British Columbia M.P.)

Look at the headings under Quebec in Hansard. I don't agree that Quebec M.P.s are Members of Parliament; they expound their views for purely political reasons. (Social Credit M.P.)

Le d put  d'expression anglaise n'a pas   faire face   la m me cuisine politique. (Quebec M.P.)

Certaines provinces ^{considèrent} leurs députés ^{comme étant des} législateurs (par exemple en Ontario, plus (Quebec M.P.)
qu'au Québec).

M.P.s from Ontario and Quebec have a different approach. It is difficult to describe, but they are a little more aggressive: they stress the political side more than in the West. Their organisation is also much stronger. (Prairie M.P.)

D'après moi les députés du Québec ont une rôle plus particulier. Ainsi ils doivent battre pour le bilinguisme continuellement. De plus nous devons toujours songer à la réaction ^{Québécoise} à certaines ^{16.5} lois fédérales, dans le Québec, favorable ou non. (Quebec M.P.)

We also asked all M.P.s this question: "Do you think there are any important differences between the way you now think of the job of M.P. and the way you thought of it before you came to Ottawa?" Not only was this question useful in clarifying respondents' present view of their role; it was the source of additional interesting information on their orientation to federal politics.

For 45.8% of our respondents there were no differences between their earlier notions of the job and their perceptions at the time of our interviews; 22.9% said they had thought they could do more in the House of Commons; 11.8% stated frankly they had simply not known the implications of the job before they reached Ottawa; and about 6% said that the job was more time consuming than they had imagined. Generally speaking, the variations between their earlier conception of the job and their present ideas on it (for those who did see a difference) were limited to the two or three factors mentioned (or a combination of them), but a number of respondents mentioned additional observations (also classed as "other" in the table) which may be worth recording. Six M.P.s, English and French-speaking, said that their interest in national affairs had increased since going to Ottawa; two French-speaking M.P.s thought that they had more power

than they thought they would enjoy; but two English-speaking M.P.s said that they enjoyed less prestige than they had expected; one English-speaking M.P. found that there was less patronage to go around than anticipated, and one French-speaking M.P. admitted that he now appreciates that it is party discipline which stifles the French Canadians in Parliament.

It is interesting that there are no significant variations in the responses of M.P.s when analyzed in terms of representational role perceptions, previous political experience, or any of the four major dimensions of analysis which we have been using throughout. French-speaking M.P.s were a little more inclined to say there were no differences between their earlier views and their present perceptions (this was especially noticeable with Cr ditistes), and English-speaking M.P.s were a little more inclined to say that they thought they would be able to do more in the House of Commons (this was especially true of Ontario Liberals), but these differences are at least as attributable to party as to bilingual/bicultural orientation. As far as the different representational role types were concerned, only slight differences were revealed among those who saw no difference between their present perception of their roles and their previous notions: Trustees were just a little more inclined than the others to say that they saw no differences, but the differences are very little indeed.

Table 4.13

Responses of English and French-Speaking M.P.s to
the Question of Whether There are Any Differences *between their*
present views and the ideas they had
of the Role of the M.P. Before Going to Ottawa
(horizontal %)*

	no differences in views	thought he could do more as M.P.	D.K. job's implications before going	other (mainly com- binations)
English	42.2	26.2	13.9	27.4
French	55.9	14.7	8.8	23.1
N =	54	27	14	32

* totals more than 100% because respondents occasionally mentioned more than one change in viewpoint.

We also asked M.P.s whether there are any important differences between what they think their job is and what their constituents think it is.³⁹ In this case significant differences are apparent in several respects.

According to thirty per cent of the respondents there are no differences between their own views of the job and those of their constituents; 14.3% thought that their constituents considered their positions to be more powerful than they really are, i.e., their constituents think that the M.P. is able to do more for them than he really can; another

³⁹ See Question 13 in Part A of the interview schedule.

15.1% stated that their constituents simply have no conception of the scope of the job; and a further 11.8% said that their constituents have no interest at all in the legislative aspects of the job of M.P. A number of M.P.s gave responses (classified as "other" in the table) indicating, usually, some combination of the differences already listed. A few respondents mentioned still other ways in which their own views and their constituents differed: three M.P.s said that their constituents think of them as mere delegates; one M.P. complained that his constituents did not appreciate his unwillingness to speak for English Canadians as such, thus rendering the respondent "a traitor to Anglo-Saxons"; another stated that "my constituents expect me to be a local functionary in striped trousers; and I'm not"; and yet another said that his constituents think that being an M.P. is a full-time job, whereas he does not think that it is.

French-speaking M.P.s were a little less inclined than English-speaking M.P.s to say that there are no differences between their own views and those of their constituents. Among those who did point to differences, English-speaking respondents were a little more inclined to mention their constituent's ignorance of the job, either in the sense of not knowing its scope, or in thinking that the M.P. is able to do more for them than he really can. The major difference as far as French-speaking M.P.s (more precisely, French-speaking Liberals) were concerned was their constituents' disposition to show no interest whatever in the M.P.'s own legislative activities.

Table 4.14

Responses of English and French-speaking M.P.s
to the Question of Whether There are any Differences
between Their Own Views on the Role of the M.P. And
Those of Their Constituents (horizontal %)

	<u>no differences between own views and constituents</u>	<u>constituents don't understand the job/ extent of my power</u>	<u>constituents uninterested in legislative activity</u>	<u>other</u>
English	36.1	32.6	6.0	25.3
French	22.2	22.2	25.0	30.6
N=	31.9	35	14	32

When responses are compared on the basis of representational role perceptions, parties, and regions a few interesting differences appear. Perhaps not surprisingly, Constituency Delegates are most inclined to say there is no difference between their view and that of their constituents; but there are no significant differences between the other role types on this matter. When Constituency Delegates do notice a difference in perception they are more inclined than the others to say that their constituents think that they have more power than they really have. Party Delegates are most inclined to say that their constituents do not understand the job of M.P. There is no relationship between representational role perception and the feeling that constituents are uninterested in one's legislative activity, other than the fact that not one Constituency Delegate mentioned this point. Liberals and Social Crediters are less inclined than the rest to say that there are no differences between their own

views and those of their constituents. Social Credit M.P.s pointed to their constituents' tendency to be unaware of the scope and power of their job; Liberals (especially French-speaking) were inclined to say that their constituents were uninterested in their legislative activities. Conservatives, New Democrats and Cr ditistes were very similar in their responses to this question. Maritime Liberals, in particular, were most disposed to say that their constituents think that the M.P. has more power to do things for them than he really has.

One of the interesting points to emerge from this analysis is the way in which there appear to be regional or perhaps regional/cultural differences in the attitudes of constituents in different parts of the country towards the job of M.P. M.P.s from the newer regions of Canada were less inclined than their colleagues from pre-Confederation regions of Canada to say that there are differences between their own perceptions of the job of M.P. and those of their constituents. On the other hand, M.P.s from the Maritimes and Quebec, and to a lesser extent those from Ontario, are inclined to feel that such differences exist, either in the sense that M.P.s are expected to be able to do more for their constituents than they are actually able to do, or in the sense that constituents tend to be uninterested in the legislative aspects of their job. Further confirmation of this phenomenon was supplied by responses to two statements in Part B of the questionnaire. There M.P.s were asked to indicate their agreement or disagreement with the following proposition:

Constituents are always asking M.P.s to do something which has nothing to do with their jobs in Ottawa; more often than not it turns out to be a provincial or even a municipal matter.

The most striking difference in the responses are on the basis of the respondents' mother tongue: both English-speaking and French-speaking respondents agree with the statement, but French-speaking M.P.s are far more inclined to agree than English-speaking M.P.s. As a matter of fact only 8.8% of the French-speaking respondents disagree with the suggestion, whereas nearly 40% of the English-speaking M.P.s disagree.⁴⁰

Table 4.15

Responses of English and French-Speaking M.P.s to
the Statement That "Constituents are Always Asking
M.P.s to Do Something Which has Nothing to Do with
Their Jobs in Ottawa..." (horizontal %)

	<u>agree with the statement</u>	<u>disagree with the statement</u>	<u>not sure</u>
English	59.5	39.2	1.4
French	91.2	8.8*	0.0
N =	75	32	1

* all other Liberals

There is no obvious reason to expect that responses should differ between M.P.s from different parties, and generally speaking this is the case. The only exception is that New Democrats, in contrast to all others,

⁴⁰ Although we asked respondents whether they agreed, tended to agree, tended to disagree, disagreed or were not sure, for the sake of analysis of sufficiently large N's to be significant, we collapsed the "agree" and "tend to agree" categories into one--"agree"--and the "tend to disagree" and "disagree" into another--"disagree".

The first part of the paper discusses the importance of the study and the objectives of the research. It also provides a brief overview of the methodology used in the study. The second part of the paper presents the results of the study and discusses the implications of the findings. The third part of the paper concludes the study and provides some final thoughts on the research.

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were far more inclined to disagree with the suggestion. But this difference may have little to do with party. By and large it can be accounted for by differences in the responses of M.P.s from urban as compared with rural constituencies. M.P.s from urban constituencies were more inclined to disagree with the statement than M.P.s from the more rural ridings,⁴¹ and, of course, New Democrats tend to come primarily from the urban ridings of the country.

The regional variation follows the pattern of responses to the earlier question. Quebec M.P.s are most inclined to agree that constituents confuse provincial and municipal affairs with the job of the federal M.P.; Maritimers are next most inclined to agree, followed closely by those from Ontario. It is only among the M.P.s from British Columbia and the Prairies that a majority disagree with the statement.

Table 4.16

Responses of M.P.s to the Statement that "Constituents
Are Always Asking M.P.s to Do Something Which Has
Nothing to Do with Their Jobs in Ottawa...",
by Region (horizontal %)

	<u>agree with the statement</u>	<u>disagree with the statement</u>	<u>not sure</u>
B.C./Yukon	36.4	63.6	0.0
Prairies	46.2	53.8	0.0
Ontario	66.7	30.6	2.8
Quebec	91.2	8.8	0.0
Maritimes	71.4	28.6	0.0

⁴¹ 79.4% of the M.P.s from the rural constituencies agree with the statement; 71.1% of the M.P.s from the mixed-urban-rural constituencies agree and 58.3% of the M.P.s from the urban constituencies agree.

In Part B of the questionnaire we also asked respondents whether they agreed or disagreed with the following statement:

Most constituents are more interested in the services an M.P. can perform for them than in his views on legislation before the House.

The pattern of responses follows almost exactly those given to the previous statement: French-speaking respondents are far more inclined to agree than English-speaking M.P.s (although the latter do agree by a slight majority with the statement); rural M.P.s are more inclined to agree than urban M.P.s; and Quebec and Maritime M.P.s are far more inclined to agree than M.P.s from the Prairies and British Columbia. Once again Ontario M.P.s are in a half-way position on the matter. In party terms there are no real differences between English Liberals and English Conservatives, except that English Conservatives are a little more inclined to be unsure. The differences are actually greater between French-speaking Liberals (77.3% of whom agree with the statement) and English-speaking Liberals than the differences between the two major parties. New Democrats (62.5%) disagree most with the suggestion and Social Crediters (100%) agree most with it.

Table 4.17

Responses of Backbench M.P.s to the Statement That

"Most Constituents are More Interested in the Services

An M.P. Can Perform Than in His Views on Legislation..."
(horizontal %)

(a) By Principal Language Group

	<u>agree with the statement</u>	<u>disagree with the statement</u>	<u>not sure</u>
English	52.1	39.4	8.5
French	79.4	14.7	5.9
N =	64	33	8

(b) By Region

	<u>agree with the statement</u>	<u>disagree with the statement</u>	<u>not sure</u>
B.C./Yukon	45.5	54.5	0.0
Prairies/N.W.T.	38.5	46.2	15.4
Ontario	54.5	39.4	6.1
Quebec	78.8	15.2	6.1
Maritimes	66.7	20.0	13.3

We have encountered here a feature of the Canadian political process which clearly deserves further examination, but for which our material offers little more than is offered here. There seem to be three aspects of the perception of the job of M.P.s among constituents which can be distinguished. The first is the tendency for constituents to be ignorant of the scope of the job of the Canadian M.P., i.e., the tendency to press upon the M.P. tasks which are more properly those of municipal or provincial representatives (a fact especially apparent to French Canadian M.P.s). The second is the assumption on the part of some constituents that M.P.s have access to a great deal more patronage than they actually control (a matter mentioned especially by Maritime and Quebec M.P.s). The third is the indifference of constituents to the legislative aspects of the job of M.P. It was this latter complaint that ranked especially important with French-speaking Liberals, and also Maritime M.P.s.

To what extent is the phenomenon to be accounted for in terms of the degree of urbanization and how much is it to be accounted for by cultural facts broadly related to the traditions of a region? To what extent is the phenomenon a generational matter, more closely related to the age of

constituents than to any other factor we have mentioned? Our data do not permit us to decide on these questions, but we can make a few observations based on the specific comments of our respondents.

Although some are no doubt aware of its wider significance, several French-speaking M.P.s (especially those from rural constituencies who complain of their constituents' disinterest in their legislative activities) appear to believe that the problem of "cognitive dissonance" between the M.P. and those of his constituents is peculiar to Quebec. One such M.P. commented ruefully that English-speaking M.P.s' constituents bring up questions of national importance with their M.P.s, whereas his are solely concerned with personal questions such as jobs and patronage. On the face of it, it seems he is right: analysis of the subject matter of letters received by M.P.s (the details of which are presented in the next chapter) reveal that Quebec M.P.s are overwhelmingly confronted with job-seeking letters while "opinion letters" of the non-self-seeking variety are relatively light. But the emphasis of constituents on patronage-seeking is not exclusively a problem for the Quebec M.P. Maritime M.P.s, in particular, encounter the same kind of attitude. As one Maritime Liberal put it: "I have a hard time convincing my older constituents that the Civil Service is not political, that I cannot just snap my fingers and patronage is mine." Another Maritime Liberal noted that "my constituents don't understand that I'm not an employment agency." By the same token Maritime M.P.s, like Quebec M.P.s, receive relatively few "opinion letters". The data also show that Maritime M.P.s believe that their constituents have little interest in their legislative activities.

A few M.P.s feel that firmness and the frank admission to constituents that there is no patronage to dispense will be accepted. Another,

a very experienced French-speaking Member, feels that the electorate is becoming more educated, is coming to appreciate better what the M.P. can really do for them. In some parts of the country, however, transformations of attitudes are slow. Nevertheless, several French-speaking M.P.s, who are clearly frustrated by the gap between their own more substantial conception of the role of M.P. and the "bureau de placement" expectations of their constituents, hope that a more vigorous programme of public education will achieve positive results.

VIII. Summary

In this chapter we have analyzed the manner in which Canadian M.P.s regard the job of M.P. in terms of three distinguishable facets: their representational, areal and purposive role perceptions. The most striking conclusion to emerge, especially in the light of what will later be revealed about the attitudes of M.P.s from the two principal language groups, is that by and large the differences in role perceptions between English and French-speaking M.P.s are not very great. This was especially notable with regard to the representational role perception. Nor were there striking differences between French and English-speaking M.P.s in terms of their political socialization, mode of recruitment, or previous political experience. Although differences in previous political experience did not appear to account for many differences in representational role perceptions, it was suggested that those with previous local government experience were more inclined to the Constituency Delegate perception and those with no previous political experience were a little more inclined to the Trustee perception. A relationship between age and representational role perception was shown in the tendency for the under-34's to avoid the Constituency

Delegate and Party Delegate perceptions and to tend slightly to the Trustee and Mixed Type roles. The oldest Members clearly tended to the Party Delegate perceptions. Party and regional variations of a moderate nature were also revealed. But the main point is that language differences apparently counted for little.

The differences between the two principal language groups in respect to areal roles were not great either: we did note, however, the marked tendency for French-speaking M.P.s, at least as compared with English-speaking M.P.s, to consider the "provincial spokesman" function as part of their areal role; but even here the differences are not enormous. We tried to explain the apparent conflict between the fact that, in response to the open-ended question about the job of the M.P. (a question seeking what the respondent thought should be the job of M.P.), French-speaking respondents did not place an inordinately heavy emphasis on the constituency focus of representation, and the fact that later in the questionnaire they indicated in no uncertain terms that they believed that the "Quebec M.P. tends to be more concerned with looking after his constituents than with national policies". We suggested then that the constituency focus may have been obscured by the tendency not to distinguish closely between the provincial and constituency focus of representation. In the light of later analysis, a further explanation is possible. We noted that for several French-speaking M.P.s (and particularly Quebec Liberals) it was a matter of regret that their constituents placed so much importance on the "préfect d'administration" aspect of the M.P.'s job. It may be then that these same M.P.s could not help but agree that in fact the Quebec M.P. does tend to be more concerned with his constituents than with national policies, but this does not mean that they think he ought to be so disposed. For such M.P.s the Quebec M.P. is simply reacting to the exigencies of his situation.

He does not have to, and indeed appears not to, agree with this perception of the M.P.'s role.

With regard to purposive roles we noted slightly more substantial differences in the perceptions of M.P.s from the two principal language groups: French-speaking M.P.s appeared to be a little more inclined to the Lawmaker and Ritualist characterizations of the job, just as English-speaking M.P.s were a little more disposed to mention the Ombudsman role. In no cases, however, were the differences really marked. It is interesting to recall, moreover, that neither age nor previous political experience appeared to have a bearing on the adoption of purposive roles.

If we were to construct an "ideal type M.P.", in the sense of the M.P. who best represents the dominant role perceptions of our respondents, that M.P. would be characterized by a Mixed Type representational role perception, a Constituency Dominant areal role perception, and a Liaison Officer purposive role perception. Clearly, the three analytically distinguishable features of role perception are closely related, and nowhere is this better seen than with the Maritime M.P.s, the vast majority of whom fit the type we have just described.

Variations from the "ideal type" are observable: Liberals and Conservatives were more inclined than others to the Mixed type of representational role and the Constituency-Dominant areal role; Cr ditistes were more inclined than others to the Constituency Delegate representational role and the Province-Dominant areal role; and Ontario M.P.s were more inclined than others towards the Constituency Delegate representational role and the Ombudsman purposive role. No other party or regional differences offer as clear a contrast, however, as the comparison between M.P.s from British Columbia and those from the Maritimes: the dominant

type among the former appears to hold the Trustee, Nation-Dominant, Law-maker role perception, whereas the latter are fundamentally constituency oriented in their areal and purposive role perceptions and torn between constituency and party in their representational role perception.

Generally speaking, these variations in role perception are not observed by many of our respondents, who appear to be at least as inclined to think that differences in perception were based on matters other than the party or province from which the M.P. happens to come. The reluctance to note differences in perception based on either party or province was especially noticeable among members of the two major parties, although, overall, Members were a little more inclined to see differences in perception based on the Member's province than on his party. Once more there were no clear differences between English and French-speaking Members. Nor were there clearly important differences in the disposition of respondents to admit to differences in their notion of the role of an M.P. as compared with their ideas on the subject before they went to Ottawa. It was only when we reached the question of whether or not there were any significant differences between the M.P.'s perception of his role and that of his constituents that really interesting variations were observed. Maritime M.P.s especially encounter the problem of constituents who appear to confuse the Member of Parliament's responsibilities with those of elected officials at lower levels of government, and who also seem to think that the federal representatives can provide more patronage for them than is the case. Quebec M.P.s, we also saw, experience the problem of their constituents' ignorance of the implications and possibilities of their job, and, in addition, find constituents indifferent to the legislative aspects of the position. These differences in constituents'

attitudes have direct consequences for the M.P.'s general orientation to federal politics, and the manner in which he fills his roles.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE CANADIAN M.P.'S PERFORMANCE OF HIS ROLE:

THE LINK WITH HIS CONSTITUENCY

In the previous chapter it was shown that the "typical Canadian M.P." is especially concerned with serving as a link between his constituency and the federal government. Many M.P.s are also interested in attempting to influence national legislation. In this chapter we examine the manner in which Canadian M.P.s attempt to perform the first of these basic functions. In the following chapter we take up the legislative aspects of the Members' role and consider the difficulties encountered, as they see it, in trying to do their job.

1. The Flow of Information from Constituency to M.P.

There are two basic aspects to the matter of the M.P.'s link with his constituency: the mechanisms by which ideas and information flow in from the constituency to the M.P.; and how and to what extent information flows out from the M.P. to his constituents.

In order to examine the first aspect we asked all respondents from what sources they get "the most accurate and useful information about the feelings of [their] constituents on political issues". Several Members mentioned more than one useful source. By far the most popular means of finding out what constituents think is simply the conversation between the Member and his constituents, or between the Member and people such as barbers

and taxi drivers, who meet the general public: 57.5% of our backbench respondents mentioned this particular source of useful information.¹ Thirty-five per cent of the respondents referred to their party organizers and constituency association members as useful informants; 5.8% mentioned using polls (or questionnaires) in their constituencies; and 7.5% referred to letters (and telephone calls) which they received from their constituents. There were other answers as well: for example, four respondents singled out pressure groups as useful; one referred to his habit of putting an advertisement in the paper asking for ideas; and another referred to the valuable information he received from other parties' organizers in his constituency. Only 6.7% of our respondents indicated that there were no specific sources of information, suggesting that they relied on their own hunches as to the views of their constituents.

When respondents' answers are looked at from the point of view of principal language group, party, and region, few differences are apparent. French-speaking respondents appear to be a little more inclined to the party organization as a source. Between the English-speaking Liberals and French-speaking Liberals there are no differences whatever; Liberals, in general, are a little more inclined than Conservatives to mention their party organizations as a source, but this emphasis is no greater than that given by New Democrats. Liberals were the most inclined to say that they relied only on their own assessments without approaching constituents

¹Nearly 80% of our respondents agreed that "An M.P. can tell most of the time what his constituents will think about an issue even before he asks them". French-speaking respondents were significantly more inclined to feel such confidence, and M.P.s from Ontario were the least inclined to say they could second-guess their constituents. Conservatives were more inclined to disagree with the notion than any others; M.P.s from British Columbia and Quebec were most inclined to agree with the proposition.

or party organizations. Regionally the only point worth noting is that Maritime M.P.s (especially Conservatives) are most inclined to rely on conversations with constituents, and the least inclined to depend on their party associations for information.

However, there are differences worth noting between M.P.s from urban and rural ridings. M.P.s from the rural areas are most inclined to rely on personal conversations with their constituents as a means of gathering information, and are least inclined to rely on their party organizations. M.P.s from the urban areas are least inclined to resort to personal conversations, and most inclined to rely on the party organization and party workers. Such a situation appears reasonable, given the greater anonymity of city life. The urban and rural difference also help to account for the differences between Liberals and Conservatives.

Table 5.1

Backbench Members Noting Conversations with Constituents and Party
Organizations as Sources of Constituents' Feelings

	<u>% mentioning talking to constituents</u>	<u>% mentioning party workers and association</u>
Rural	72.4	17.1
Urban/Rural	59.9	38.1
Urban	38.5	49.0
	<hr/>	<hr/>
N =	69	42

Differences in sources of information were also revealed in terms of M.P.s' different role perceptions. Party Delegates are considerably more inclined to rely on their party organizations for information and

considerably less inclined than the others to rely on conversations with their constituents. Mixed Types are a little more inclined than others to depend on conversations with their constituents, although they, along with the Trustees also mention letters as a source of information. Not one Constituency Delegate or Party Delegate mentioned letters.

Table 5.2

Backbench Members Noting Conversations with Constituents, Party Organizations and Letters as Sources of Constituents' Feelings

	% mentioning conversations with constituents	% mentioning party workers and associa- tion	% mentioning letters
Constituency Delegate	50.0	28.9	0.0
Party Delegate	33.0	52.4	0.0
Trustee	56.4	30.8	7.7
Mixed Type	69.0	30.9	14.3

When it is recalled that there were slight differences among our respondents on the basis of party or language group, the significance of the position of Party Delegates and Mixed Types is noteworthy.

We were also interested in finding out what groups within a constituency are important, as far as M.P.s are concerned, in providing good information and advice on political issues. It is clear from the data already presented that, apart from the constituents themselves, only party organizations appeared to come to the respondents' minds with any frequency when they were asked for sources of useful information about their constituents' feelings. It is therefore significant that party organizations were easily the most important source mentioned when we handed respondents

1. The first part of the document discusses the importance of maintaining accurate records of all transactions. It emphasizes that proper record-keeping is essential for the integrity of the financial system and for the ability to detect and prevent fraud.

2. The second part of the document outlines the specific procedures for recording transactions. It details the steps involved in the accounting cycle, from identifying the transaction to posting it to the appropriate ledger account.

3. The third part of the document discusses the importance of internal controls. It explains how internal controls can help to ensure the accuracy and reliability of financial information and to prevent errors and fraud.

4. The fourth part of the document discusses the importance of external audits. It explains how external audits can provide an independent assessment of the accuracy and reliability of financial information and can help to identify areas for improvement.

5. The fifth part of the document discusses the importance of transparency and disclosure. It explains how transparency and disclosure can help to build trust in the financial system and can provide valuable information to investors and other stakeholders.

a card bearing the names of nine different possible sources of information and advice on political issues, and asked them to rank them in terms of their usefulness. The suggested sources were:

- editorials in local newspapers
- letters to the editor in local newspapers
- party leaders and workers in your constituency
- business leaders
- local government officials
- union leaders
- church leaders
- leaders of ethnic associations
- personal friends and acquaintances

Because a great many respondents were reluctant to rank all nine suggestions, or if they did rank them were often unable to distinguish between several groups of them, we were unable to analyze our data with sufficient refinement to warrant making detailed comparisons between language groups, parties, regions, and the urban/rural location of constituencies. The reasons why almost all respondents found it difficult to rank all nine suggestions are not hard to discover. One or two might be singled out immediately as always being most important, but then the respondent would often indicate that the relative usefulness of the other "sources" suggested depended on the issue in question. Thus, for example, on a matter concerning trade unions, the opinion of trade union leaders might be of special importance, while the opinion of party leaders and workers, normally more useful, would on that topic appear relatively unimportant.

Some Members also expressed the opinion that they never felt sufficient confidence in any of the suggested "sources" to warrant accepting them unhesitatingly. Many gave the impression that all were pressure groups of one sort or another: "They all have an axe to grind," as one

respondent put it. According to another, he heard from them only when they were promoting an idea favourable to their special interests; and this, to be sure, is what one might expect. Several respondents stressed the necessity of maintaining their independence of thought and judgment when dealing with special interests and expressed the need to know, in any case, whether the leaders of special interest groups were really representing the wishes of their followers (if they had any) and whether there was any substance to their arguments.

Even though many Members did not think they could always get "good information and advice on political issues" from many of the "sources" because of their built-in biases, respondents did realize that they could not discard outright any expression of opinion. Four or five sources might be used to build up a composite picture in a respondent's mind of how his constituents felt on a particular issue. Further, even though they might suspect that their informants were biased, Members recognized the need to maintain friendly relations with them, not just because of electoral considerations, but also because they might prove a valuable source of information on matters related to their special interest.

Despite the limitations noted we may nevertheless indicate the relative importance of these sources overall. Following after party leaders and constituency workers (overwhelmingly the most highly ranked source) came personal friends and acquaintances; then (with little distinction between them) business leaders, local government officials, and editorials in local newspapers; and finally (all relatively insignificant) union leaders, church leaders,² letters to the editor in local newspapers,

²It is worth noting that in the open-ended question asking for sources of information on constituents' feelings not a single respondent mentioned church leaders.

and leaders of ethnic associations.

Table 5.3

Ranking of Sources of Good Information and Advice on Political Issues,
Based on Percentage of Ratings in Top Three Choices

	<u>%</u>
1. party leaders and workers in constituency	85
2. personal friends and acquaintances	63
3. business leaders	46
4. local government officials	42
5. editorials in local newspapers	42
6. union leaders	15
7. church leaders	13
8. letters to the editor in local newspapers	11
9. leaders of ethnic associations.	9

Some differences in emphasis were revealed in the answers of English-speaking and French-speaking M.P.s. The latter were a little more inclined to rank local government officials higher on the list than English-speaking M.P.s, whereas the latter were more inclined to say that business leaders were important sources of information. French-speaking M.P.s were also a little more inclined to value their friends and acquaintances as sources of useful information and advice on political issues.

The comparison of the answers to the two questions (one open-ended the other structured) is a good object lesson in the distortions that may arise from too much reliance on structured questionnaires. From the "source-ranking question" alone we might have concluded that business leaders, local government officials and editorials in local newspapers are reasonably

important sources of information and advice for the average M.P. When we take into account, however, that in the open-ended question these sources were volunteered by only a tiny fraction of the respondents, we are able to put the matter in better perspective. Generally we may conclude that the party organization is indeed important as a source of information and advice for the M.P., but conversations with constituents are even more important (although the high ranking of personal friends and acquaintances suggests that the constituents with whom the M.P.s talk are not necessarily unknown to the M.P.). For the "average M.P.", union leaders, letters to the editor in local newspapers, church leaders, and leaders of ethnic associations are of little importance at all.³

Answers to the open-ended question revealed that letters (and in a few cases telephone calls) are relatively unimportant as a source of useful information about the feelings of constituents on political issues. Yet many M.P.s receive a considerable number of letters in a normal week. In order to find out more about this side of the communication process between constituents and M.P.s we asked all respondents to tell us how much mail they received in an average week, and what subjects tend to predominate.

To facilitate the analysis we set up four classifications, each containing a roughly equal number of respondents: Members receiving "light mail" (1 to 20 letters a week), 20.3%; Members receiving "moderately

³ Although many members claimed that they kept in touch with ethnic group leaders, they did not tend to regard them as an important source of information. Some M.P.s pointed out that it was only the older immigrants who clustered together in homogeneous committees: the newer arrivals, they thought, sought to integrate as quickly as possible. Others claimed that the leaders of such groups were out of touch with their memberships.

heavy mail" (20 to 40 letters a week), 28.7%; Members receiving "heavy mail" (40 - 80 letters a week), 25.4%; and Members receiving "very heavy mail" (more than 80 letters a week), 24.6%. Clearly the range here is considerable, and it is interesting to see whether the results follow any particular pattern.

Generally speaking the difference between English-speaking M.P.s and French-speaking M.P.s is not great. It is true that more French-speaking M.P.s received what has been termed "light mail" than English-speaking M.P.s, but this is explained by a larger proportion of English-speaking M.P.s who receive "moderate mail". Within the "heavy" and "very heavy" mail categories there are no differences between the two principal language groups.

Table 5.4

Amount of Mail Received by French and English-speaking Backbench

M.P.s in an Average Week (horizontal %)

	<u>1- 20 letters</u>	<u>20-40 letters</u>	<u>40-80 letters</u>	<u>more than 80 letters</u>
English	16.0	34.6	25.9	23.5
French	29.7	18.8	24.3	24.6
N =	24	35	30	29

Differences are even more insignificant when examined by the urban/rural location of constituencies: the only point to stand out is one that might be expected; namely, that urban M.P.s are most prominent among those who receive a very heavy weekly mail. Even so, urban M.P.s are not by any means overwhelmingly barraged with letters as compared with their rural

colleagues. Differences are also trivial between the parties: in the middle ranges of numbers of letters received weekly there are absolutely no differences whatever, and the only slight distinctions worth mentioning are: (a) all those who mentioned receiving the very lightest weekly mail (i.e., only 1-10 letters a week) were Liberals⁴; and (b), more Cr ditistes and New Democrats appear to receive "very heavy" mail than others. In regional terms the results show only minor differences: as might be expected, M.P.s from the Maritimes and British Columbia, furthest away from Ottawa, are least inclined to receive only "light" weekly mail. Not one respondent from B.C. mentioned receiving as little as one to twenty letters a week. On the other hand no region's M.P.s were especially confronted with "very heavy" weekly mail, although it must be said that Maritime M.P.s tended towards the heavier mail categories overall.

When we examine the responses according to the M.P.'s representational role perception some interesting points emerge. Not one Constituency Delegate reported receiving what we have termed "light mail", and 50% reported receiving "very heavy" mail. Within the three other role types the pattern seems to be very much the same, except for the fact that Party Delegates seem to receive, more than the others, what we have termed "moderate mail", and do not seem to be especially affected by heavy mail: only three of the Party Delegates reported receiving more than 60 letters in a week.

⁴ Four of the 25 French-speaking Liberals interviewed said they received from one to ten letters a week; three English-speaking Liberals made a similar reply. The major explanation for this difference is the fact that M.P.s who live nearby Ottawa (and these are by and large Liberals) receive telephone calls rather than letters from their constituents.

Table 5.5

Amount of Mail Received by Different Representational Role

Types in an Average Week (horizontal %)

	<u>1-20 letters</u>	<u>20-40 letters</u>	<u>40-80 letters</u>	<u>more than 80 letters</u>
Constituency Delegate	0.0	35.7	14.3	50.0
Party Delegate	25.0	40.0	20.0	15.0
Trustee	21.6	31.0	27.0	18.9
Mixed Type	21.4	23.8	26.2	28.6

What is the subject matter of the letters received, and does the subject matter vary in any significant way depending on the Member's party, region or language group? Members often mentioned more than one subject, and we were able to code up to five separate subjects on which letters might be received. It may be assumed that all Members receive letters at some time on the full range of subjects, but we asked them what subjects predominate. Clearly the most important subject, overall, was social welfare (requests for information about pensions, family allowances, etc.): 76.9% of our respondents mentioned receiving letters of this kind.⁵ Next most important was the letter outlining some kind of request or seeking some kind of information on what may broadly be called constituency matters (new wharves, airport construction projects, roads, dams, etc.). Also

⁵75% of the respondents indicated that they felt that the "welfare services which an M.P. performs for his constituents are important in getting him elected". There were no differences in the replies between English and French-speaking Liberals or between the Liberal Party as a whole and the Conservatives and New Democrats on this matter. Cr ditistes and French-speaking Social Crediters disagreed heavily with the proposition.

important were letters seeking employment, and letters which simply conveyed the opinion of the constituent (or constituents) on specific or general matters of national, provincial or local policy. Just under 20% of the respondents also mentioned receiving letters on immigration matters, and a few received letters on income tax matters. In addition, several M.P.s mention receiving, regularly, requests to attend local functions, to open fairs, schools, etc.

Table 5.6

Subjects of Letters Mentioned by Backbench M.P.s

<u>Type of letter</u>	<u>% mentioning receiving letters</u>
social welfare	76.9
constituency matters	38.4
job requests	36.6
opinion letters	32.3
immigration matters	19.7
income tax matters	7.7
other matters (invitations to openings anniversaries, etc.)	22.2

However, the overall distribution of the predominant subject matter of M.P.s' letters is misleading. Although letters on social welfare matters and constituency matters are about equally important for both English and French-speaking M.P.s, there is a great difference in the other letters received by M.P.s of the two principal language groups: 63.9% of French-speaking M.P.s as compared with only 24.9% of English-speaking M.P.s mention receiving letters of the job-seeking variety; 40%

of the English-speaking M.P.s mentioned receiving "opinion letters" from their constituents, but only 13.9% of the French-speaking M.P.s did so. Finally, there was a great difference in the letters each received on the subject of immigration; only one French-speaking M.P. mentioned the matter, whereas 26.2% of the English-speaking M.P.s mentioned receiving letters on immigration.

Table 5.7

Predominant Subject Matter of Letters Received by English
and French-speaking M.P.s (horizontal %)*

	social welfare	job requests	constituency matters	opinion letters	immigration
English	71.6	24.9	39.5	40.7	26.2
French	88.9	63.9	36.1	13.9	2.9
N =	90	43	45	38	23

* % total is more than 100% because most M.P.s mentioned more than one predominant subject.

As far as party variations are concerned, these are not as striking as those based on the bilingual/bicultural orientation of respondents. N.D.P. Members were more inclined to receive opinion letters from their constituents, whereas no Cr ditiste and only one Social Credit Member mentioned this type of letter. Letters requesting jobs and letters dealing with immigration were, not surprisingly, most often directed to Liberal M.P.s, with the English Liberals accounting for the bulk of the immigration letters, and the French-speaking Liberals accounting for the bulk of the job-request letters. Of all the Members mentioning receiving letters

requesting some kind of employment, Liberals accounted for two-thirds; among these French-speaking Liberals mentioned 41.8% of all the references to job-requesting letters. Or, putting the same fact in a slightly different way, 80% of the French-speaking Liberals mentioned that they frequently receive letters requesting jobs. When this fact is taken along with another, namely, that only 12.6% of the French-speaking Liberals mentioned receiving "opinion letters", we have plenty of evidence to substantiate the "commis-voyageur" perception of the M.P.'s role on the part of French-speaking constituents, of which a number of Quebec M.P.s complained.'

There are also urban/rural variations worth mentioning. Job-request letters are a little more common from constituents in urban ridings; letters dealing with constituency matters, such as roads, dams, etc. are a little more common from rural constituencies; and opinion letters and letters dealing with immigration are a little more common from urban ridings. These results are, however, much what would be expected, given the different needs and interests of urban and rural constituents.

In addition, there are variations in the kinds of letters received which are not simply explained by the differences already noted in terms of language group and urban/rural location of constituencies. Given the higher incidence of letters on constituency matters from rural M.P.s, we might expect Prairies M.P.s to be especially affected by this kind of letter; and this is the case. Given the high incidence of job-request letters to French-speaking M.P.s we would also expect (as is the case) that Quebec M.P.s receive a great many job requests. But there are other interesting facts worth noting. Not one British Columbia Member mentioned

receiving job-request letters, and only two British Columbia Members mentioned receiving letters dealing with constituency matters. M.P.s from British Columbia receive their fair share of social welfare letters, as did all other M.P.s, but they are particularly noteworthy for the high number of "opinion letters" they receive: 81.8% mentioned receiving letters of this kind. Ontario M.P.s, as might be expected, receive the lion's share of the letters dealing with immigration matters: nearly 75% of all the references to immigration letters came from M.P.s from Ontario constituencies. Maritime M.P.s come closest to Quebec M.P.s in the kind of letters which they receive. We have already noticed the extent to which Maritime M.P.s have mentioned the manner in which many of their constituents think that they are able to do more for them in the way of providing patronage than M.P.s are in fact able to deliver: it was no surprise to learn that 62.5% of the Maritime M.P.s mentioned frequently receiving letters requesting jobs, and 62.5% mention receiving letters on constituency matters. Letters of this kind were more common for Maritime Liberals than Maritime Conservatives, but we have already noticed that job-request letters were more commonly sent to Liberals generally. Not one Maritime M.P. mentioned receiving letters dealing with immigration, and only one Maritime M.P. mentioned receiving opinion letters.

The analysis presented earlier in this chapter pointed to the fact that personal contact between an M.P. and his constituents, and in particular the M.P.'s own conversations with his constituents, is the most important means of his acquiring a feeling for, or confirmation of, the ideas of his constituents on political matters. Feedback from the party organization appeared to be the next most important mechanism of transferring opinions from constituency to M.P.. And yet, judging from replies to another

question put to all respondents, Canadian M.P.s in general are by no means sanguine about their ability to keep in touch with constituents. In response to the suggestion that "Often M.P.s get so involved in affairs in Ottawa that they lose touch with their constituents" 70% of the respondents agreed.⁶ However, responses were not uniform.⁷ French-speaking M.P.s (and this was true of French-speaking M.P.s of all parties) were considerably more inclined to say that they lose touch with their constituents. Rural M.P.s were a little more inclined than urban to agree that they lose touch with their constituents, but the major distinguishing factor in the responses was the mother tongue of the respondents. The proof of this is revealed by a comparison of the responses of English-speaking and French-speaking Liberals: 82% of the French-speaking Liberals agreed with the proposition, as compared with only 60% of the English-speaking Liberals. All the French-speaking Social Crediters, and all but one of the Cr  ditistes, agreed with the proposition.

⁶ The results presented in footnote one, above suggest, however, that this may not be especially serious.

⁷ Apart from the difference between Quebec and the other four regions, accounted for by language, regional differences were insignificant.

Table 5.8

Responses of English and French-speaking M.P.s to the
Proposition: "Often M.P.s Get So Involved in Affairs in Ottawa
That They Lose Touch with Their Constituents" (horizontal %)

	<u>agree with the statement</u>	<u>disagree with the statement</u>	<u>not sure</u>
English	62.5	33.3	4.2
French	85.3	14.7	0.0
N =	74	29	3

When the responses are examined by other variables a few interesting facts emerge. There seems to be no clear relationship between the number of letters an M.P. receives and his agreement or disagreement with the proposition: those who received the fewest letters were only marginally more inclined to agree than those who received more than 80 letters a week. Trustees were most inclined to agree that the M.P. often loses touch, whereas Party Delegates, who were most inclined to rely on their party organization for the feelings of their constituents, were most inclined to disagree with the suggestion that M.P.s get out of touch with their constituents. Ombudsmen were also most inclined to disagree with the notion that M.P.s lose touch with their constituents.

* 11. Keeping in Touch with Constituents

With these facts in mind we may go on to examine the different means by which M.P.s establish contact with their constituents and their party organizations. We have examined the flow of information in to the

M.P.; it is appropriate now to see what initiatives are taken by the M.P. Before doing this, however, it is useful to try to discover what opportunities there may be for personal contact between an M.P. and his constituents or party organization; this was done by inquiring how much time, during the parliamentary session, M.P.s spend in their constituencies, and whether or not they live in their constituencies during the parliamentary session (or at all).

Among Canadian backbench M.P.s, at least, there are not many who do not have a residence in (or do not take up some kind of residence in) the constituencies which they represent: only eight M.P.s interviewed in our survey fell into this category, five English-speaking and three French-speaking. The only matter of interest to arise from our question asking M.P.s how long they lived in the constituency which they represent was the clear implication that English-speaking M.P.s tend to be more mobile than French-speaking M.P.s, in the sense that they are less inclined to have deep roots in the constituencies which they represent. Whereas nearly 15% of the English-speaking M.P.s had lived in their constituencies less than ten years, only one French-speaking M.P. had lived in his constituency that briefly. Even when we take a longer view of "establishment in one's constituency" (habitation in the constituency from one to twenty years) the same pattern emerged: 32.9% of the English-speaking respondents were so classified as compared with only 16.2% of the French-speaking respondents. Generally speaking, we may say that French-speaking M.P.s tend to be more rooted in the constituencies which they come to represent in Ottawa.

There is a difference between having lived for many years in a constituency which one represents, and actually residing in that constituency while the parliamentary session is in progress. Only those M.P.s

who live within convenient driving distance of the national capital can actually live in their constituencies during the entire parliamentary session: others either live in hotels or apartments in Ottawa during the weekdays or during the session, or take up residence with their families in Ottawa for the duration of the session. In a few cases, reported by nine of the respondents interviewed in our survey, M.P.s live in Ottawa throughout the entire year, i.e., they take up permanent residence in Ottawa, despite the fact that their constituencies are elsewhere.⁸

Essentially our interest focuses on three difference patterns of handling the problem of residing in Ottawa for the weekly parliamentary business, and maintaining connections with one's family. The first method, utilised by 56.6% of the respondents with families, is to reside in Ottawa during the week, returning every weekend or two to one's home in the constituency one represents; another solution, adopted by less than 10% of the respondents, is to live in Ottawa during the session, leaving one's family at home; and the third is to bring one's family to Ottawa to take up residence there, returning at regular intervals to one's constituency for visits. The latter solution was adopted by 27.1% of the respondents interviewed. In the classification "Other" in the table below are a few unusual cases: two English-speaking M.P.s live with their families in Ottawa during the week, returning to their constituencies every weekend; one English-speaking M.P. without a family lives in Ottawa during the week, but returns to his constituency normally on weekends; four English-speaking M.P.s without families live in Ottawa during the sessions; and one English-speaking M.P. with no

⁸Seven of these respondents lived in Ottawa with their families; two were without families.

family lives in Ottawa full-time.

The most significant point to emerge from our analysis of the manner in which M.P.s handle the problem of living in Ottawa while maintaining connections with their family is the apparent reluctance of French-speaking M.P.s to move to Ottawa with their families for the parliamentary session: only six French-speaking M.P.s (all Liberals) lived with their families in Ottawa, three of these during the parliamentary session only, and three on a year-round basis.⁹ More than 30% of the English-speaking M.P.s moved their families to Ottawa with them for the session. In addition, there was one French-speaking M.P. who kept his family at home but remained in Ottawa himself during the session, making only occasional trips home to visit this family. The vast majority (80.6% of the French-speaking respondents in our sample) stay in Ottawa alone during the week, returning to their constituencies on the weekends.

⁹ See Chapter Seven, Section III, for French-speaking M.P.s' attitudes towards the city of Ottawa.

Table 5.9

Comparison of French and English-speaking M.P.s in Terms of
Habitation in Ottawa during the Parliamentary Session
(horizontal %)

	<u>stay in Ottawa during week, returning to constituencies, families at home</u>	<u>stay in Ottawa during session, families at home</u>	<u>bring families to Ottawa</u>	<u>Other</u>
English	46.3	11.0	31.7	11.8
French	80.6	2.8	16.7*	0.0
N =	67	10	32	

*only 3 of these were French-speaking Liberals from Quebec.

There are no real differences in the habits of rural and urban M.P.s, with the exception that rural M.P.s, especially those from the Prairies, are more inclined to stay for the session, visiting their families at home at specific occasions (such as during the harvest). There are no striking differences in the habits of M.P.s from the different parties: N.D.P. Members appear to be more inclined to bring their families to Ottawa, but this is largely accounted for the fact that M.P.s from British Columbia (among whom the New Democrats bulk large) tend to bring their families to Ottawa with them for the session. Apart from the differences in the habits of the M.P.s from the two language groups, the other basic factor distinguishing the practices of M.P.s in this regard is the region from which they happen to come. M.P.s from British Columbia, as already noted, are most inclined to bring their families and are least inclined to go

home weekends. M.P.s from the Maritimes are more inclined to go home on weekends than M.P.s from British Columbia, but they are also almost as inclined as M.P.s from British Columbia to bring their families to Ottawa. There are also differences in practice between the Maritime M.P.s from the two parties: Conservative M.P.s are most inclined to go home for the weekends, while Liberals (especially those from Newfoundland) are most inclined to bring their families with them for the session. Obviously it is the M.P.s from Ontario and Quebec (especially) who tend to live in Ottawa during the week, returning to their constituencies and families during the weekend.

Table 5.10

Comparison by Region of M.P.s in Terms of Their Habitation in
Ottawa during the Parliamentary Session (horizontal %)

	stay in Ottawa during week, returning to con- stituencies on weekends, families at home	stay in Ottawa during session, families at home	bring families to Ottawa	Other
B.C./Yukon	9.1	9.1	54.5	27.3
Prairies/N.W.T.	21.1	31.6	36.8	10.5
Ontario	64.9	5.4	21.6	8.3
Quebec	88.6	2.9	8.6	0.0
Maritimes	43.8	0.0	50.0	6.3

As might be expected, there is a close relationship between the regional variation in habitation patterns and the length of time spent by M.P.s in their constituencies during the parliamentary session.¹⁰ M.P.s

¹⁰ We asked the question in this way: "When the House is in session, approximately how many days a month do you spend in your constituency?"

from Ontario and Quebec are most inclined to spend from five to nine days a month in their constituencies (the length of time that one would expect to find spent by those to tend to return to their constituencies on week-ends), while those from the more distant regions tend to spend less time during the average month of a parliamentary session. The vast majority of M.P.s from British Columbia manage no more than four days a month in their constituencies; roughly 50% of the M.P.s from the Prairies and the Maritimes spend up to four days a month in their constituencies, but in the latter case, at least, a considerable number are also able, like Ontario M.P.s, to spend from five to nine days in the constituency. Five Prairie M.P.s, two British Columbia M.P.s, and one Maritime M.P., fall into a category which we have called "other", meaning that their trips to their constituencies tend to be more sporadic. When asked how many days in an average month they spend in their constituencies they found it extremely difficult to answer, because some months they do not return to their constituencies at all. But when they do return to their constituencies they tend to stay for a week or more, thus missing several days of the parliamentary session.

Table 5.11

Average Number of Days Spent in Constituency During the Parliamentary

Session by Region (horizontal %)

	<u>0-4 days</u>	<u>5-9 days (all weekends)</u>	<u>10 or more days</u>	<u>other (sporadic)</u>
B.C./Yukon	80.0	0.0	0.0	20.0
Prairies/N.W.T.	55.6	16.7	0.0	27.5
Ontario	10.8	78.4	10.8	0.0
Quebec	11.4	55.6	33.3	0.0
Maritimes	50.0	43.8	0.0	6.3
N =	34	59	16	8

There is an additional feature concerning the average length of time spent in the constituency each month that is suggested by the regional data, and confirmed by the analysis of M.P.s by principal language group. French-speaking Quebec M.P.s are far more inclined than others to spend more than weekends in their constituencies during the parliamentary session: 31.4% of French-speaking M.P.s spent 10 or more days in their constituencies during the session as compared with only 6.1% of the English-speaking M.P.s. This discrepancy is all the more surprising since, it may be recalled, French-speaking M.P.s were more inclined to say that they often get so involved in affairs in Ottawa that they lose touch with their constituents.¹¹ Interestingly, the difference between English and French-speaking M.P.s is accounted for, not by the Cr ditistes (only one of whom said he spent 10 or more days in the constituency) but by the French-speaking Social Crediters (all of whom in our sample stayed 10 or more days) and French-speaking Liberals. The tendency for several French Canadians to stay a longer than average time in their constituencies may be related to the fact, already recognized, that very few French Canadians live with their families in Ottawa during the session; but it may also be related to the fact that French Canadians tend to spend just a little more

¹¹ Strangely, there is no relationship between the length of time the M.P. spends in the constituency and his disposition to say that M.P.s lose touch with their constituents. Those who go home weekends (5-9 days each month) are more inclined to disagree (32.7%) than those who spend only one to four days in their constituents (19.4%), but those who spend ten or more days each month (predominantly French speaking) are not still more inclined to disagree with the proposition. Only 12.5% of these M.P.s disagree; actually less than the number in the none-to-four days group. Those who make sporadic visits to the constituency (the very M.P.s one would have thought would feel most out of touch with their constituents) are most disposed to disagree with the suggestion that M.P.s get out of touch with their constituents.

time than English Canadians during the parliamentary session involved in commitments other than their parliamentary jobs.¹²

Table 5.12

Average Number of Days Spent in Constituency During the Parliamentary Session by English and French-speaking M.P.s (horizontal %)

	<u>0 to 4 days</u>	<u>5 to 9 days</u>	<u>10 or more days</u>	<u>other</u>
English	35.4	48.8	6.1	9.8
French	14.3	54.3	31.4*	0.0

*only one of these was a Cr ditiste

When the results are analysed by party, the relationship between regional and bicultural factors are revealed: Liberals and Cr ditistes (both coming mainly from provinces near Ottawa) are most inclined to the 5 to 9 days category; New Democrats (many of them from British Columbia) are most inclined to the zero to four days category; and French-speaking Social Crediters are most inclined to the ten or more days category. When, however, the data are analyzed in terms of representational and purposive roles, no significant relationships emerge. Constituency Delegates and Liaison Officers are no more disposed to spend longer periods in their constituencies during the parliamentary session than are Trustees and Lawmakers.

Having established the different patterns by which M.P.s maintain

¹²See Chapter Six.

connections with their constituencies, we may ask how M.P.s make themselves available to constituents. Several M.P.s mentioned more than one means, so that in the table that follows the percentages total more than 100%; but the usual combination of answers, especially for the French-speaking M.P., was to say that the M.P. had an office in his constituency at which, during the weekend, he had a regular open day on which constituents might come to see him: 36.7% of our respondents mentioned maintaining an office, and 37.5% mentioned holding an open day each weekend. There were some differences in the responses, however, especially related to the language group of the respondent and his region. English-speaking M.P.s were more inclined to say that they did nothing to make themselves available to their constituents: the numbers here are not great, but four English-speaking Liberals, two English Conservatives and one French-speaking Social Credit M.P. said that they do nothing. French-speaking M.P.s were far more inclined than English-speaking M.P.s to say that they maintained an office to which constituents might come to consult with the M.P.; English-speaking M.P.s were less inclined to mention having an office, but were equally inclined to say that they had an open day each weekend on which the constituents could visit the M.P. (often at his home). English-speaking M.P.s (especially rural M.P.s) were more inclined than French-speaking M.P.s to say that they advertise, (usually in the newspapers) when they will be in the constituency, so that constituents may either visit or telephone the M.P. when he is in his constituency. English-speaking M.P.s, especially urban M.P.s, were a little more inclined to say that they maintained a telephone answering service to collect communications from their constituents during the week, so that the M.P. might attend

to his problems when he returns to the constituency during the weekends. Some M.P.s make visits to different parts of their constituencies at regular intervals, and a few hold meetings with local government officers when they are home. One M.P. mentioned holding a citizens' forum from time to time.

Table 5.13

Methods Mentioned by English and French-speaking M.P.s for
Making Themselves Available to Constituents*

	<u>% of English mentioning method</u>	<u>% of French mentioning method</u>	<u>% of all M.P.s</u>
do nothing to make self available	7.1	2.8	5.8
advertise when M.P. will be home	21.4	5.6	16.7
maintain an office in the constituency	23.9	66.6	36.7
employ telephone answering service (including wife)	25.0	16.6	22.5
reserve an open day each weekend	38.0	36.1	37.5
make visits to different parts of the constituency	17.9	13.8	16.7
other	7.1	0.0	5.0

*totals more than 100% because some respondents mentioned more than one method.

As far as party variations are concerned there is not much of

interest: Liberals are less inclined to advertise their return than the other M.P.s (New Democrats and Social Crediters being especially inclined to this practice), and Cr ditistes are most inclined to maintain an office. The regional variations also follow what one would logically expect from the foregoing: M.P.s from B.C./Yukon and the Prairies are most inclined to advertise their return (40% of the former and 44% of the latter mentioned employing this technique of making themselves available to constituents); 25% of the Maritime M.P.s advertise their return, but this particular method was almost insignificant for M.P.s from Central Canada. Newfoundland M.P.s were most disposed to the visit (annual or semi-annual) to their constituents, and Ontario M.P.s were most disposed to the open day each weekend. Ontario M.P.s are also most inclined to use a telephone answering service.

When the responses are compared between the different representational role types there are also very few significant differences. Party Delegates and Mixed Types were the only ones to say that they did nothing to make themselves available to their constituents; Mixed Types were least inclined to advertise, and the most inclined to maintain an office. Constituency Delegates were the most inclined to maintain an answering service. It must be stressed that these differences are not great. Overall the most distinguishing factors concerning the manner in which M.P.s make themselves available to their constituents, are the principal language group of the respondent and the region from which he happens to come.

When we asked all respondents whether they "regard it as part of their job to inform and educate their constituents about what goes on in Parliament" the vast majority agreed. Only five English-speaking M.P.s and

two French-speaking M.P.s disagreed with the proposition, and two English-speaking M.P.s said that the M.P. should inform but not necessarily try to educate his constituents. The manner in which M.P.s go about communicating with their constituents (thereby informing and educating them) varies considerably, especially between members of the two principal language groups.

The most popular means of communicating with constituents, mentioned by 57.1% of all respondents, is radio and television (mainly radio); 46.2% said that they write a column in the local newspaper (or newspapers) in which, by and large, they claim to provide a dispassionate report of the events of Parliament; 20% of the respondents said that they send out a "general-mailer" to all their constituents from time to time, and a further 8.6% mentioned sending out a circular letter which goes to a different list of selected constituents on an monthly or quarterly basis; 36.9% said that they use the public meeting (or social gatherings in the constituency) as a means of communicating with their constituents. In addition, twenty M.P.s (almost all English-speaking) mentioned using other devices for communicating with their constituents, mainly through sending out copies of Hansard or employing polls within the constituency. Nearly 6% of the respondents said that they did nothing to communicate with their constituents.

As suggested, the means utilized to communicate with constituents varies considerably between the two principal language groups. French-speaking M.P.s are more inclined to say that they do nothing to communicate with their constituents (although they were no more inclined than English-speaking M.P.s to say that an M.P. should not inform and educate his constituents). The public meeting (or the social gathering) was the most popular technique of communication as far as French-speaking M.P.s were

concerned, whereas radio/T.V., the newspaper column, and the mailed communication (taking both the circular and the "general mailer" together) were far more popular with English-speaking M.P.s. When the responses are considered overall it is clear that French-speaking M.P.s employ fewer techniques to communicate with (and therefore inform and educate) their constituents, and the technique which they favour is the traditional personal approach, at public meetings or at social gatherings. The written communication from the M.P. to his constituents appears to be considerably less utilized by French-speaking M.P.s than their English-speaking colleagues. English-speaking M.P.s, on the other hand, are less disposed to use the traditional public meetings and social gatherings.

Table 5.14

Techniques Employed by English and French-speaking M.P.s to
Communicate with Their Constituents (% totals more than 100%
because most M.P.s mentioned more than one technique)

	<u>% of English-speaking M.P.s mentioning technique</u>	<u>% of French-speaking M.P.s mentioning technique</u>	<u>All M.P.s</u>
does nothing to communicate	2.4	14.3	5.8
uses radio/T.V.	63.1	42.9	57.1
writes column in newspaper(s)	51.2	34.3	46.2
mails communication (regular or irregular)	55.9	28.6	47.9
attends meetings or social gatherings	30.9	51.4	36.9
other (mainly sending out <u>Hansards</u>)	21.4	5.7	16.8

Analysis on the basis of the location of constituency reveals little variation: no urban M.P. mentioned doing nothing to communicate with his constituents, and urban M.P.s were slightly more inclined than others to mention public meetings or social gatherings; but these differences are really trivial. Nor are there differences between the parties that cannot be explained either in terms of language or the urban/rural predominance of party membership. The same conclusions are also largely true for the analysis in terms of representational roles. Party Delegates were least inclined to communicate with their constituents by radio and T.V., whereas Constituency Delegates were most inclined to this technique. All representational role types were equally disposed to write a column in the local newspaper(s). Once again it is the principal language group of the respondents that accounts for the bulk of the variation in responses.

III. Keeping in Touch with the Local Party Organization

The analysis thus far has centred on the links between the M.P. and his constituency through the constituents themselves. Finally, we turn to examine the variety of methods by which M.P.s maintain contact with their local party organizations. The matter is of importance, since so many M.P.s told us that, apart from their own conversations with constituents, the party organization in their constituency offered the best means of attaining information and advice on political issues, and gave M.P.s the best indication of the feelings of their constituents.

Once again there were a few M.P.s (seven of the respondents interviewed) who claimed that they do nothing to maintain contact with their constituency associations; that their associations more or less collapse between elections. For the majority (69.4%), however, the most prominent

means of maintaining contact was through attendance at riding association meetings (either general meetings or executive meetings) whenever possible. How often they attend such meetings we are not able to say. Letters and telephone calls with the party organizers were mentioned by nearly half the respondents; 35.6% mentioned (rather vaguely) that they tried to see members of the riding association whenever they went home; 21.2% said that they sent newsletters to the members of their riding associations; seven M.P.s (four English-speaking, three French-speaking) said that they have set up regional or parish groups within their constituencies and try to see them from time to time; and four French-speaking M.P.s and one English-speaking M.P. mentioned specifically seeing their party organizers at social gatherings.

When the responses are analyzed in terms of any of the four major variables we have been employing throughout, not many significant differences are revealed. Notably, French-speaking M.P.s are a little more inclined to attend riding meetings and less inclined to send out newsletters to their riding association members than English-speaking M.P.s.¹³ Urban M.P.s are a little more inclined to mention attending riding association meetings than rural M.P.s; Liberals (both English-speaking and French-speaking) and Cr ditistes were less inclined to send out newsletters than other M.P.s; M.P.s from British Columbia were least inclined to say that they see their party organizers when they go home, and most inclined to say that they deal with them by letter and telephone; Ontario M.P.s were most inclined

¹³ 26.5% of the English-speaking M.P.s mentioned sending out newsletters to their riding association members, whereas only 8.6% of the French-speaking respondents mentioned this.

to say that they attended local party meetings, and Maritimers were least inclined to say this (undoubtedly the effect of the Newfoundland M.P.s, few of whom have local party organizations).

Finally, when responses are examined from the viewpoint of the respondent's representational role perception, only a few variations are revealed. Party Delegates and Constituency Delegates were least inclined to say that they send out newsletters to their party members, but both were more inclined than Trustees and Mixed Types to say that they attend constituency association meetings. Trustees were the most inclined to say that they did nothing to maintain contact with the organizations (because the riding associations virtually collapsed between elections); but they, along with the Mixed Types, were more inclined to say that they send out newsletters.

IV. Summary

In the conclusions to the previous chapter it was stressed how relatively insignificant language differences seemed to be as far as role perceptions were concerned. Now that we have examined the manner in which M.P.s perform their roles, differences of considerable importance have emerged between M.P.s from the two principal language groups. As far as the flow of information from the constituency in to the M.P. is concerned, differences between English and French-speaking M.P.s were, it is true, relatively slight. Both agreed that conversations with constituents supplemented by advice and information from party organizations were important mechanisms for discovering the feelings of constituents. French-speaking M.P.s tended to stress local government officials as secondary sources of information, however, whereas English-speaking M.P.s tended

more to mention business leaders. M.P.s from the two principal language groups were not distinguished markedly, either, by the amount of mail they received in an average week; although we noted that more French-speaking M.P.s tended to get "light mail", they were no less inclined to receive "heavy" and "very heavy" mail than were English-speaking M.P.s. However, the subject matter of the letters was considerably different; French-speaking M.P.s, much more than English-speaking M.P.s, mentioned the predominance of job-seeking letters and the paucity of "opinion letters", although it was noted that in this respect (as in other ways) Quebec M.P.s were not so different from Maritime M.P.s.

French-speaking M.P.s were seen to be more deeply rooted in their constituencies than English-speaking M.P.s in two senses: more than English-speaking M.P.s, they tended to have lived longer in the constituencies which they represent; and also they tended to prefer much more to return to their constituencies (and stay longer) during the parliamentary session. Far fewer French Canadian M.P.s than English Canadians move with their families to Ottawa for the session, and far more French Canadians than English Canadians tended to overstay the weekends in their constituencies while the work of Parliament was going on. Despite this, French-speaking M.P.s were more inclined to say that "Often M.P.s get so involved in affairs in Ottawa that they lose touch with their constituents".

Fundamentally, the really distinctive differences between the French Canadian M.P.'s performance of his role and that of his English Canadian counterpart is seen in the process of communication from M.P. to constituent. In his relationship with his party organization he is not much different from the English-speaking M.P., except that he is less

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speaking W.P.s tended to get "light mail", they were no less inclined to
receive "heavy" and "very heavy" mail than were English-speaking W.P.s.
However, the subject matter of the letters was considerably different;
French-speaking W.P.s, much more than English-speaking W.P.s, mentioned
the pronunciation of job-related letters and the necessity of "official letters",
although it was noted that in this respect (as in other ways) Quebec W.P.s
were not so different from other W.P.s.

French-speaking W.P.s were seen to be more deeply rooted in their
communities than English-speaking W.P.s in two senses: more than English-
speaking W.P.s, they tended to have lived longer in the communities with
which they were associated; and also they tended to prefer such work to return to their
constituent (and also longer) during the parliamentary session. For
most French-speaking W.P.s, their English Canadian neighbors with their families
in Quebec for the session, and for some French Canadians their English
Canadian friends in Quebec for the session; the tendency in their constituencies while
the work of Parliament was going on. Despite this, French-speaking W.P.s
were more inclined to say that other W.P.s get as involved in affairs in
Quebec that they have with their constituents.

Fundamentally, the really distinctive differences between the
French Canadian W.P.s' performance of his role and that of his English
Canadian counterpart is seen in the process of communication from W.P. to
constituents. In his contact with his party organization he is not
so different from the English-speaking W.P., except that he is less

inclined to send out information to his riding association members in the form of a newsletter. He is more content to rely on attendance at party meetings or social gatherings sponsored by the party, as a means of keeping contact with his party organizers. It is essentially in the manner in which he communicates with his constituents that he is different from the English-speaking M.P. Both agree that it is important for the Member to attempt to inform and educate his constituents about what goes on in Parliament, but the truth of the matter appears to be that the French Canadian M.P. does less than his English-speaking counterpart. More French-speaking M.P.s were disposed to say that they did nothing to communicate with their constituents, and for those who did attempt to communicate, the traditional public meeting or social gathering still tended to be the dominant mechanism. Compared with English-speaking M.P.s, French-speaking members are less inclined to use the modern devices of communication: newspapers, radio and television, and especially the mailed communication to the constituent.

Our analysis of the subject matter of letters received by French Canadian M.P.s confirmed the picture, which so many of them presented, of an electorate largely concerned with obtaining patronage from a "préfect d'administration" type of M.P. Our analysis of the methods employed by French Canadian M.P.s to communicate with their constituents suggests, also, that not everything is being done that might be done to present an alternative image of the M.P.'s role.

inclined to send out information to his riding association members in the form of a newsletter. He is more content to rely on attendance at party meetings or social gatherings sponsored by the party, as a means of keeping contact with his party organization. It is essentially in the manner in which he communicates with his constituents that he is different from the English-speaking M.P. Both agree that it is important for the Member to attempt to inform and educate his constituents about what goes on in Parliament, but the truth of the matter appears to be that the French Canadian M.P. does less than the English-speaking counterpart. More French-speaking M.P.s were disposed to say that they did nothing to communicate with their constituents, and for those who did attempt to communicate, the traditional public meeting or social gathering still tended to be the dominant medium. Compared with English-speaking M.P.s, French-speaking members are less inclined to use the modern devices of communication: newspapers, radio and television, and especially the written communication to the constituent.

Our analysis of the subject matter of letters received by French Canadian M.P.s confirmed the picture, which so many of them presented, of an electorate largely concerned with obtaining patronage from a "patron" type of M.P. Our analysis of the methods employed by French Canadian M.P.s to communicate with their constituents suggests, also, that not everything is being done that might be done to present an attractive image of the M.P.'s role.